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Thesis

Prussian Poland 1815 to 1900

by

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Introduction

The partitional treaties of 1772, 1793 and 1795[1] gave to Prussia a large block of territory uniting Brandenburg and Prussian Pomerania with East Prussia, thus enabling the Hohenzollerns to realize an age-old dream of controlling the southern coastline of the Baltic Sea. By the annexation of southwestern Poland as far East as the Vistula River, Silesia was well protected, and with the northeastern boundary at the Nieman River, East Prussia received an important Polish hinterland to furnish the raw materials for her commercial and industrial cities. Frederic the Great's dream of protecting Prussia's cradle was at last realized.

Although Prussia, Russia and Austria destroyed the State, they could not kill the national spirit, which, among the nobility expressed itself in active political opposition to all efforts to denationalize them, and among the peasantry, in racial resistance to assimilation. The policy of the Prussian Government, especially after 1870, had quite the opposite effect from that intended; instead of aggravating class differences in order to develop a Prussian patriotism among the peasantry, it unified Polish sentiment, and when the nobility began to falter before the attacks of the Government, the formerly despised peasantry came to the rescue of the embarrassed land lords.

The Spring following the signing of the treaties of partition in 1772 by Prussia, Russia and Austria, Frederick the Great

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1. Appendix 145-151

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1. Appendix 145-147

showed his eagerness to possess the territories alloted to him by undignified haste in occupying them. Even before the treaties were ratified by the Polish Diet he left Starogard for Marienwerder and Bydgoszcz to give General Brenckenhoff the order to take possession of the Netze District according to the provisions of the treaties.[1] On June 4, 1772 he sent into West Prussia the first detachment of officials;[2] and on September 13 the proclamation of annexation was published and Brenckenoff was instructed to set a commission to work making a survey of the country and its needs. Within a few days a German administration was saddled on the people,[3] and on September 27 the Diet at Marienburg took the oath of allegiance to its new ruler. The treaty separating this area from Poland was not ratified by the Polish Government until April 1773.[4]

Polish territory was similarly treated following the treaties of 1793 and 1795[5] when Poland as a State disappeared from the map of Europe.

The Grand Duchy of Warsaw

During the Napoleonic period several parties of Polish patriots worked, each in its own way, for a reestablishment of the Kingdom of Poland. Dombrowski, after the reconciliation of France

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1. Warschauer, Geschichte der Provinz Posen in polnischer Zeit, 148; Marriott and Robertson, Evolution of Prussia, 152.
2. Warschauer, 148; Carlyle, Life of Frederick the Great, 377-379.
3. Warschauer, 148-149; Ausubel, Superman, Frederick the Great, 735-736; Henderson, 211; Kugler, 546.
4. Lord, Second Partition of Poland, 54; Bain, Slavonic Europe 396; Lutosanski, Recueil des Actes Diplomatique, I,64 Diet of the first partition April 19, 1773-April 11, 1775.
5. Lutosanski, I,139-146, 220-222, 236; Appendix 148-151.

showed his eagerness to possess the territories allotted to him by unjustified haste in occupying them. Even before the treaties were ratified by the Polish Diet he left Königsberg for Marienwerder and Bydgoszcz to give General Grzemski the order to take possession of the Vistula District according to the provisions of the treaties.[4] On June 4, 1772 he sent into Lower Prussia the first detachment of officials;[5] and on September 12 the proclamation of annexation was published and Grzemski was instructed to set a commission to work making a survey of the country and its needs. Within a few days a German administration was saddled on the people,[6] and on September 27 the first at Marienburg took the oath of allegiance to its new ruler. The treaty respecting this area from Poland was not ratified by the Polish Government until April 1773.[7]

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2. Warschauer, 148; Carlyle, Life of Frederick the Great, 277-78.
3. Warschauer, 148-149; Martloff, Supermen, Frederick the Great, 128-132; Henderson, Will Hughes, 248.
4. Lord, Second Partition of Poland, 34; Bain, Slavonic Europe 398; Luckwaldt, Geschichte der Polen, 1.44 Date of the first partition April 16, 1772-April 21, 1772.
5. Luckwaldt, 1.130-132, 380-382, 398; Appendix 146-151.

and Prussia in the treaty of Basle in 1795 favored a resurrection of the Kingdom under Prussian suzerainty. Frederick William looked with some favor on the idea; the Directory in France accepted it as a satisfactory solution of the Polish Question; but Napoleon frowned upon it, although by carefully worded speeches adapted to his own schemes of the moment, he held out promises of an independent Polish kingdom, thus winning their military support in his war on Austria.[1] As the terms of the treaty of Campo-Formio gave no satisfaction to the Poles, the Czartoryski addressed themselves to Czar Alexander, and as Napoleon's relations with Frederick William cooled, Prussia was drawn to Russia in an alliance against him. One of the results of the success of these combined forces against the arch enemy of the established order was to be the reconstitution of Poland.[2] Quite unexpectedly Prussia was defeated at Jena; Napoleon advanced on Prussian Poland and was met enthusiastically by the Poles. While Napoleon continued his advance eastward, the Poles with the aid of fifteen thousand Lithuanians drove the Prussians from Kalisz and other fortresses, and set up a provisional government.[3]

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1. Dyboski, Poland, 259; Lutosanski,I,245,246; Appendix 151-152.
2. Dyboski, 159; Marriott and Robertson, 218.
3. Lewis, History of Germany, 578; Lutosanski,I,247,249.

and Prussia in the treaty of Basle in 1795 favored a restoration of the Kingdom under Prussian suzerainty. Frederick William looked with some favor on the idea; the Directory in France accepted it as a satisfactory solution of the Polish question; but Napoleon frowned upon it. Although by carefully worded speeches adapted to his own audience of the moment, he held out promises of an independent Polish kingdom, thus winning their military support in his war on Austria.[1] As the terms of the treaty of Campo-Formio gave no satisfaction to the Poles, the Czartoryski endeavored themselves to Czar Alexander, and as Napoleon's relations with Frederick William cooled, Prussia was drawn to Russia in an alliance against him. One of the results of the success of these combined forces against the arch enemy of the established order was to be the reconstitution of Poland.[2] Quite unexpectedly Prussia was defeated at Jena; Napoleon advanced on Prussian Poland and was met enthusiastically by the Poles. While Napoleon continued his advance eastward, the Poles with the aid of fifteen thousand Lithuanians drove the Prussians from Kalisz and other fortresses, and set up a provisional government.[3]

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1. Dyboski, Poland, 280; Lutosawski, I, 266, 268; Appendix 1, 4-7.
2. Dyboski, 1270; Sorelle and Rabertson, 214.
3. Lewis, History of Germany, 270; Lutosawski, I, 267, 269.

last two partitions,[1] to which was added a part of Galicia, or a bit of Austrian Poland in 1809. The satisfaction of again being recognized as an independent State was not to be enjoyed long. Prussia and Austria were still smarting from the blows that Napoleon had dealt them, and Russia was finding his Continental System irksome. Prussia and Russia again united their destinies on February 27, 1813 in the Convention of Kalisz which required of Russia that the forces be kept in the field until Prussia had recovered her lost territories with the exception of Hanover, and of Prussia that her claims to the greater part of the annexations of 1793 and 1795 be given up. To make certain of success this time, the Allies on June 15 procured England's promise to subsidize them, and on June 27, also at Reichenbach, Austria agreed to act as mediator between the Allies and Napoleon. Between July 5 and Auguat 11 Metternich and von Humboldt negotiated with Coulaincourt at Prague while the Allies rushed their military preparations. When the conversations produced no results, Austria, as agreed, declared war, and with the retreat of Napoleon from Leipsig, the fate of the Duchy of Warsaw was sealed. The Congress of Vienna then sanctioned the last partition of Polish territory.[2]

The Treaties and Proclamations of 1815

During September 1814 and June 1815 the Allies remade the

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1. Appendix 153 2. Marriott and Robertson,250

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The Treaties and Transactions of 1815

During September 1814 and June 1815, the Allies remade the

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1. Appendix 130. 2. Hartlett and Robertson, 530

map of Europe at the cost of about fifteen million dollars to Austria as host of the crowned heads of Europe and their staffs.[1] One of the thorniest of problems was the Polish Question joined as it was to the fate of Napoleon's faithful ally, Saxony. The negotiations dragged on endlessly, but Napoleon's escape from Elba and his spectacular march to Paris awakened the Powers to their danger. They terminated their discussions as quickly as possible. The Polish Question was finally disposed of by Prussia, Russia and Austria in May 1815 and incorporated in the General Treaty in June.

To these treaties[2] the Poles continually referred when complaining of their treatment by the partitioning Powers. They claimed that by these treaties the Poles were guaranteed a constitution administered by Poles in the Polish language and national representation with hardly more than a personal union with Prussia.[3] A careful reading of the treaties will show that they were called the subjects of Prussia, Austria and Russia, and that national representation would be granted only if and when the Powers considered them politically capable and it was expedient to grant such rights without danger to the State of which they were a part.

The Poles have also pointed to Frederick William's proclamation of annexation at Posen on May 15, 1815[4] as reiterating the

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1. An interesting account of the Congress of Vienna and the negotiations on Poland is told in the personal letters, reports, and diaries of those present, in Frederick Freksa's "A Peace Congress of Intrigue" translated by Harry Hansen, Century Co., 1919; Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 162-163.
2. Appendix, 154-158.
3. Busch, II, 162-163 interprets the Patent of Possess to have created a personal union between Prussia and the Grand Duchy, but insists that the treaty of Vienna gave no such guarantee. Petzet, Die Preussischen Ostmarken, 15.
4. Appendix, 161.

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4. Ostert, Die Preussischen Ostmarken, 15.
5. Appendix, 161.

guarantees of the treaties; but here, too, the phraseology is conservative. Frederick William simply said what his ancestor, Frederick the Great had said, and what his descendants were to repeat many times, - that in annexing Polish territory, they were really reuniting to Prussia ancient Prussian lands. We may quarrel with the truth of the statement, but it must be admitted that from such a point of view it could hardly be expected that the Hohenzollerns would grant this territory rights distinct from those given to the rest of Prussia. To be sure, Frederick William conceded that they were Poles and Catholic with traditions to which they were loyal. But he hastened to add that they were incorporated in his State. The next phrase, 'sans avoir besoin de renoncer à votre existence nationale', certainly seems to be a decided concession and one wonders what he really meant by the entire statement which obviously is a paradox. The remainder of the proclamation is again conservative in tone; the Poles are to enjoy the same constitution which he intends to grant Prussia, and they are to have a provincial constitution 'comme les autres provinces'. They need not renounce their religion, and their persons and property will be protected by law, but he does not say that their clergy will be Poles or their laws, Polish. Polish is to be used but not to the exclusion of German; public office will be open to the Poles , but he does not say that Poles will be appointed or elected. To be sure the King's chief representative resident in Posen was to be one born in Posen, but that does not make him Polish in blood, and this same lieutenant is to be governed by the orders given him by the Prussian ruler, not by a body of Poles chosen for the purpose. One of the last statements in the

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document might also be considered to have a double meaning:- 'Je veux que le passe soit entierement oublie.' Did he mean the past wrongs were to be forgotten, or that their racial distinction was to be erased?

The Grand Duchy of Posen 1815-1848

On the day of the proclamation by letters patent the King restricted the boundaries of the Grand Duchy by adding, for political purposes, the districts of Chelmno and Michailow and the city of Thorn to West Prussia Posen then had a population of about 1,100,000 living on 11,583 square miles, and its capital city was but one hundred miles east of Berlin.[1]

The King now promised that the Polish language would be used in official acts as well as in the courts, and that the presidents of the three courts for the Grand Duchy would be Poles. Prince Anthony Radziwill, related to the royal house by marriage, was named Stadthalter with representative functions, and on August 3, 1815 preceding the ceremony of homage, he delivered an address in which he

> "Congratulated his fellow countrymen upon being embodied in a State whose renown and might are wisely based upon limited freedom, impartial justice, and a government comprehensively careful of its subjects' interests."

Following the address the officials, clergy, and landowners took the oath of allegiance "according to the form established in 1796";[2] the Polish flag was run down from the pole on the

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1. Lutosanski, I, 419-421, 424-425; Polish Encyclopedia, I, 512; Appendix 160.
2. Busch, II, 163-164.

city hall at Posen and replaced by the Prussian; and the Grand Duchy was presented with a new coat of arms, the red shield and white eagle of Poland surmounting the black eagle of Prussia.[1]

The reannexation of Polish territory was not well received by the Prussian patriots, who had hoped to be rid of the Poles and Catholics of Posen.[2] Dr. Busch, for years an associate of Bismark, was of a different opinion, and quoted from M. de Tallyrand, Lord Castlereagh and others of like opinion. He felt that the addition of this territory was a just reward for the service Prussia had rendered in defeating Napoleon, and a just punishment for a people who had "fought against a nobler and more freedom loving people than themselves."[3] The Minister of Justice, Kircheisen, a staunch conservative lost no time in preparing for the Prussianization of Posen. In a speech before the judicial body in Posen he stated in no uncertain terms that if Prussia's occupation of Posen was to be permanent the province would have to be Germanized. He advised settling small groups of Poles in the midst of the German cities and colonies, but his suggestions were not heeded by the King.[4]

The Beginning of the Constitutional Struggle

As early as 1810 Frederick William had promised Prussia a constitution with representation national and provincial,[5] but not until May 22, 1815 did he take any steps toward fulfilling

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1. Appendix 160.
2. C.Grant Robertson,Bismark, 34-35.
3. Busch,II,162-163; Appendix 165.
4. Trampe, Ostdeutschen Kulturkampf,II,47.
5. Annals of the American Academy of Political Science,V,204, The Prussian Constitution, with an introduction by Harvey Robinson.

ably built at Posen and replaced by the Prussians; and the Grand Duchy was provided with a new coat of arms, the red eagle and white eagle of Poland surmounting the black eagle of Prussia.[1]

The reconstruction of Polish territory was not well received by the Prussian partitions, who had hoped to be rid of the Polish and Catholics of Posen.[2] Bismarck, who views an associate of Disraeli, was of a different opinion, and quoted from the Daily Mail, Lord Castlereagh and others of like opinion. He felt that the addition of this territory was a first towards for the revision Prussia had rendered in defeating Napoleon, and a first problem dealt for a people who had "fought against a nation and more free dom loving people than themselves."[3] The Minister of Justice, Eichelsen, a staunch conservative lost no time in regarding the Prussianization of Posen. In a speech before the judicial body in Posen he stated in no uncertain terms that if Prussia's occupation of Posen was to be permanent the province would have to be Germanized. He advised settling small groups of Poles in the midst of the German cities and colonies, but his suggestions were not heeded by the King.[4]

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1. Kornbluth 180.
2. Bunsen II, 180-182; Kornbluth 180.
3. Treitschke, Nineteenth Century, II, 47.
4. Kornbluth 181.
5. Handle of the Prussian Academy of Political Science, V, 1904, The Prussian Constitution, with an Introduction by Harvey Goodnow.
6. Dorothee Fobersteen, Die-
mark, 94-98.

it. Since the Federal Act of that date did not guarantee any constitutional liberties, he published a Decree or Ordinance promising to appoint a commission to meet on September 1 to draw up a constitution for Prussia.[1] This commission, however, was not appointed until March 20, 1817 from among the members of the newly chosen Council of State which was to be legislative in character. Only two of the twenty-two members of the commission were Poles, Prince Radziwill and Klewitz.[2] It met for the first time on July 7, and was addressed by its chairman, Hardenburg, to the effect that the King was ready "to consult the Estates on legislation", but that they were to have a "consultative position", and that they were to have no power to interfere in the administration. Three of the Commission were then selected to visit the provinces and collect opinions on two questions: whether it was possible and expedient to let the peasantry be represented with the nobility and the towns, and whether Estates General or only Provincial Estates were desired.[3] Of the work of the Commission or of the members collecting information nothing was heard. In 1820, the King again promised a constitution.[4] By 1821 the reaction emanating from Vienna influenced the King to replace the Commission by a new one composed of Germans only, and headed by the Crown Prince. Finally in 1823 it was decided that Provincial Estates were sufficient, but Posen was excluded

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1. Seeley, Life and Times of Stein,II,427; Appendix 163-165.
2. Seeley,II,428.
3. Seeley,II,429 Klewitz was to inquire in Brandenburg, Saxony, Silesia and Poland.
4. Annals,V,205.

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1. Seeley, Life and Times of Stein, II, 107; Appendix 183-185.
2. Seeley, II, 107.
3. Seeley, II, 109; Kemmitz was to Andrina in Brandenburg, Saxony, Silesia and Poland.
4. Arnold, V, 208.

from this privilege until 1827.[1] Even then the whole plan was carried out half heartedly, and the King made the mistake of encouraging provincial sentiment instead of nationalism.[2] He also divided the classes of people into nobles, knights, burgesses, and peasants, and gave the franchise only to those possessing real estate. The right of petition was restricted and the function of the provincial assemblies was to express opinions on the proposed legislation.[3]

Prussian Administrative System

The administrative system given the Grand Duchy was in all essentials the same organization possessed by the other province of Prussia. At its head was the Oberpraesident, Zerboni de Sposetti, a broad-minded, progressive and sincere German landowner of Posen. His position was properly speaking that of a supervising agent for the minister in the province.[4] But since the functions of Prince Radziwill were restricted to addresses and petitions to the King from the Poles, delivering messages to the Poles from the King, whenever such a procedure seemed wise, and gathering information for the King, the actual work of governing the province fell on the Oberpraesident.[5] By an instruction of 1825 and later decrees, orders, and laws, the functions of the oberpraesident grew and became threefold: (1) a sphere of direct State administration in which he was assisted by the Oberprae-

1. Seeley,II,430 2. Annals,V,205 3. Annals,V,205
4. James, Principles of Prussian Administration, 80-83.
5. Barker, The Foundations of Germany, 402; Cambridge Modern History,X,463.

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4. Jesse, Principles of Prussian Administration, 20-22.
5. Hacker, The Foundations of Germany, 402; Cambridge Modern History,v.,473.

sidialrat and counsellors with assistants. This task dealt with the affairs of the province at large and relations between districts or areas outside the jurisdiction of a district, such as State institutions, cooperation with the military authorities, public relations with the Catholic Church (such as making effective the Concordat with Rome of 1821), and the chairmanship of all the provincial boards (School Board and Land Board).[1] The governor was also the authority with the licensing power, and could appoint certain inferior officers as well as issue certain police regulations outside district limits. (2) As a supervising agent of the subordinate State officers and for the municipalities in the province, the provincial president received reports, gave instructions, examined records, and investigated the conduct of subordinate officials. He settled definitely questions of communal and circle administration, and could temporarily suspend the acts of the provincial corporation. Protests against the police orders of lower officials could be directed to him. (3) As the personal representative of the King and his Ministers he convoked the provincial assembly (Provinzial-Landtag) and adjourned it; and acted as intermediary between it and the State authorities in such cases as war or other State concerns.[2]

The Provincial Council (Provinzialrat) had for its president the provincial governor and was appointed by the Minister of the Interior from such citizens "active at the seat of the

1. James, 84-85. 2. James, 80-83.

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1. Jones, 84-85. 2. Jones, 84-85.

provincial administrative". It also had five non-professional members chosen for a six year term by the Provincial Executive Committee from the lists of those qualified for seats in the Provincial Assembly, and each of the five had an alternate. One half of the members were elected at a time and were eligible for reelection every three years. To this position there was no salary attached but expenses were paid as regulated by the Provincial Assembly. This Council assisted the Oberpraesident in adopting measures and regulations for the general administration of the province, to consider protests against the measures of the District Committee, and was itself supervised by the Minister of the Interior.[1]

The Provincial Committee (Provinzialausschuss),[2] composed of from seven to thirteen members with a chairman was elected by the Provincial Assembly for a six year term from those qualified for election to the Assembly, to prepare and execute the measures of the Assembly not entrusted to special commissions or officials and to give opinion on all matters submitted to it by the Oberpraesident or the Ministers. The Provincial Director or executive of the Assembly was ex-officio a member of the Committee but could not be its chairman, nor was any provincial official eligible to it. This position also provided no salary, although expenses were paid. The same provisions for election and reelection

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1. James, 83-84 The Council was governed by the law of 1883.
2. James, 89-90,92 note 1 By the Law of May 9, 1889 and the Order of November 5, 1889 the members of the Provincial Committee had to be agreeable to the Minister of the Interior.

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1. Hamm, 23-24 The Council was governed by the law of 1872.
2. Hamm, 29-30, 32 note 1 By the law of May 9, 1892 and the Ord. of November 8, 1899 the members of the Provincial Committee had to be agreeable to the Minister of the Interior.

applied here.

The Provincial Assembly (Provinzial-Landtag)[1] consisted of representatives elected by the circles (Kreise), urban (Stadtkreise) and rural (Landkreise), to give opinion on proposed laws or measures submitted to it by the central authorities and to manage the affairs of the province within the sphere permitted it by Royal Charter or Legislative Enactment, such as passing by-laws and regulations for provincial institutions; determining the manner of raising State revenues other than as prescribed by the law; meeting the provincial expenditures by levying taxes, and borrowing money; disposing of public property; determining the budget; electing the Provincial Director and his assistants, the State Provincial Boards, and Special Commissions; and similar tasks permitted it by law.

Each Circle elected a representative to the Assembly for every forty to eighty thousand people and then a second or more members for every fifty thousand more. Under certain conditions two small adjoining Districts could unite to elect a representative. The deputies from the rural circles were elected by their assemblies and those from urban circles, by the urban assemblies or Legislative Council and Magistracy or Executive Council. All citizens of thirty years possessing political rights and residence for a year in the province, or owning real estate there, were eligible to election as deputies from their Circle, for a term of six years. The Provincial Assembly met at least every two years and more often as necessary, and its sessions were open to the public unless otherwise ordered in executive session.

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1. James, 87-89.

applied here.

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All the executive officials, higher assistants and committee members were entitled to an advisory voice in the Provincial Assembly and could not be excluded except by special resolution.[1]

The Landeshauptmann or Director of the Provincial Assembly[2] was elected by it for a term of from six to twelve years and had to be acceptable to the King. If not, a new election had to be held, and if the name was not approved or the Assembly failed to elect, the Minister of the Interior could appoint a central agent to fill the office until an officer was chosen, agreeable to the authorities. Under such circumstances the temporary Director was sometimes appointed by the Provincial Committee. His duties were to prepare and execute the decisions of the Provincial Committee of which he was a member; to act as official supervisor of all provincial officials, and as agent of the Province in its relations with official bodies and private persons; to direct official correspondence and to sign all communications and documents. To act as advisory or cooperative assistants to the Director the Assembly appointed Landraete.[3]

The province was divided into Circles or Kreise,[4] whose officials and organs of administration were the Landrat, Magistratur, Gemeinderat, and Gemeinrat, performing for the Kreise the same duties as the Oberpraesident, Provinzialausschuss, Provinzial-Landtag and the Landeshauptmann, only on a smaller scale.

City government had much the same organization possessing

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1. James, 87-89.
2. James, 90-91.
3. James, 91
4. Dawson, Municipal Life and Government in Germany, 28-31,57-57, 75, 90, 100; James,112.

All the executive officials, higher assistants and committees were entitled to an advisory voice in the Provincial Council and could not be excluded except by special resolution.[1]

The Landesgouverneur or Director of the Provincial Council, elected by it for a term of from six to twelve years and had to be acceptable to the King. If not, a new election had to be held. If the name was not approved or the Assembly failed to elect, the Minister of the Interior could appoint a central agent to fill the office until an officer was chosen, responsible to the authorities. Under such circumstances the temporary Director was sometimes appointed by the Provincial Committee. His duties were to prepare and execute the decisions of the Provincial Committee of which he was a member; to act as official supervisor of all provincial officials, and as agent of the Province in its relations with official bodies and private persons; to direct official correspondence and to sign all communications and documents. He had an advisory or cooperative assistants to the Director the Assembly appointed Landraete.[2]

The province was divided into Circles or Kreise,[3] whose officials and organs of administration were the Landrat, Amtsmann, Demoiderat, and Deputat, performing for the circles the same duties as the Gouverneur, Provincialausschuss, Provincial-Ausschuss and the Landesausschuss, only on a smaller scale.

City government had much the same organization possessing

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1. Jesse, 87-88.
2. Jesse, 91
3. Dawson, 90-91.
4. Dawson, Municipal life and Government in Germany, 28-31, 34-38, 72, 80, 100; Jesse, 112.

a mayor and councils, if the city were large, and a mayor with five or six assistants, if the community were small.

While the Province, Circle and Municipality were organs of local administration, the Regencies and Districts existed solely for State purposes. [1] The Grand Duchy of Posen was divided into two areas known as Regencies or Government Districts (Regierungsbezirke); these were Posen and Bromberg, the former predominantly Polish and the latter with a large German population. At the head of affairs for the State in the District stood the president (Regierungspraesident) assisted by a Committee (Regierungsausschuss). The activities of the Regierungs-praesident were largely political, and the members of his Committee were largely non-professional, controlling the political side of religion and education, and dealing with all phases of direct taxation. They played some part in local government in their capacity of State representatives and had in their membership one Polish representative for each District[2].

Another division with some political functions was the Amtsbezirke, a canton or subdivision of the Circle, composed of adjacent towns grouped together for police purposes. In charge of these subdivisions were Amtsmaenner who exercised the police power until 1836 when that authority was given to Distriktkommissarien.[3]

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1. James, 80. 2. Dawson, 104-107.
3. James, 127 note 1 Ordinance of December 10, 1836; Lutosanski, I, 498-499.

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While the Provinces, Circle and Municipality were organs of local administration, the Magenolen and Districts existed solely for State purposes.[1] The Grand Duchy of Posen was divided into two areas known as Magenolen or Government Districts (Regierungsbezirke); these were Posen and Bromberg, the former predominantly Polish and the latter with a large German population. At the head of affairs for the State in the District stood the president (Regierungspresident) assisted by a Committee (Regierungsausschuss). The activities of the Regierungspresident were largely political, and the members of his Committee were largely non-professional, controlling the political side of religion and education, and dealing with all phases of direct taxation. They played some part in local government in their capacity of State representatives and had in their membership one Polish representative for each District.[2]

Another division with some political functions was the Amtsbezirke, a section or subdivision of the Circle, composed of adjacent towns grouped together for police purposes. In charge of these subdivisions were Amtsmenner who exercised the police power until 1886 when that authority was given to Distrikt-Commissaries.[3]

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1. Jaenn, 60. 2. Dawson, 104-107.
3. Jaenn, 107 note 1 Ordinance of December 10, 1886; Buscemeki I, 488-490.

The manorial district (Rittergutsbezirke) of the large estates also felt the heavy hand of the Prussian government. Although an attempt was made during Puttkamer's oberpraesidency, it was not abolished until 1872[1] because it formed a sort of closed corporation in which the Polish landowner was able very effectively to encourage the resistence of his peasants to German influences.

For the administration of justice, Posen was given three courts: the Amtsgericht of the Amtsbezirke, the Landsgericht of the Kreise, and the Oberlandsgericht of the Provinz, each presided over by a Pole.[2]

Period of Relative Freedom 1815-1830

The promises given in 1815 concerning the employment of Polish officials and the use of the Polish language were as hesitatingly fulfilled as were the promises of a constitutional regime for Prussia, because Frederick William was faced two ways at one and the same time. From Vienna came the influence of Metternich, and from St. Petersburg, the rather rarified air of idealistic liberalism as taught by the Czartoryski. The King could not afford yet to quarrel with Austria; his position among the German States was not secure enough; and he also could not offend Russia, whom he needed as a friendly power in the East as he laid his plans for the approaching struggle for the leadership of Germany. The resulting policy was wavering, now favoring one

1. G.B.Smith, William I and the German Empire. 2. Lutosanski,498

The memorial dialogue (Ritterguldbeschluss) of the large estates also felt the heavy hand of the Prussian government. Although an attempt was made during Friedrich's ownership, it was not abolished until 1873, because it formed a kind of closed corporation in which the Polish landowner was able very effectively to encourage the resistance of his peasants to German influences.

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Period of Relative Freedom 1815-1830

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1. O.A. Ranke, William I and the German Empire. 2. Lutzenkirchen

side, now another. In 1816 all the old restrictive legislation of the period before the Napoleonic revolution was reintroduced in Posen,[1] just as the Prussianization of Silesia returned under General Karl Grolmann.[2] The following year the use of Polish in the courts was restricted; German was introduced on an equal footing with Polish.[3] This was followed by a foretaste of the Kulturkampf in the form of an attack on the universities and the Catholic Church throughout Prussia,[4] culminating in the closing of the monasteries in Posen and the confiscation of their property and capital for the benefit of the State schools in 1817,[5] which, however, continued the use of Polish as the medium of instruction. German was taught in the secondary schools as a compulsory foreign language.[6] In 1819 the Allgemeine Landrecht was introduced[7] as well as press censorship.[8]

Two years later the Government became a little more lenient, following the lead of Russia; it arranged its affairs with Rome in a concordat to be effective as long as Prussia did not interfere too drastically in Catholic affairs,[9] and then turned its attention to the agricultural situation in the East. It permitted and assisted in the establishment of a Land Credit Society to aid the rehabilitation of the estates ruined by the Napoleonic wars. This was followed by a decree emancipating the serfs, although they had been free in Prussia since 1809,[10] and regulating

1. Busch, II, 164.
2. Fisher and Brooks, America and the New Poland, 31-32.
3. Cambridge Modern History X, 463
4. Seeley, II, 449 Regulation of February 9; Barker, 402.
5. Lutosanski, I, 420,421
6. Lutosanski, I, 420,421.
7. Petzet, 15
8. Sybel, I, 96
9. Simon, The Emperor William and his Reign, II, 204
10. Lutosanski, I, 421.

side, new another. In 1818 all has old restrictive legislation of the period before the Napoleonic revolution was reintroduced in Tuscany,[1] just as the Francomanization of Italian textbook was ordered last October.[2] The following year the use of Italian in the courts was restricted; German was introduced on an equal footing with Italian.[3] This was followed by a fortnight of the Emperor in the form of an attack on the universities and the Catholic Church throughout Italy,[4] culminating in the closing of the seminaries in Pavia and the confiscation of their property not needed for the benefit of the State schools in 1821,[5] which, however, continued the use of Italian as the medium of instruction. German was taught in the secondary schools as a compulsory foreign language.[6] In 1823 the Bigwelsche Lehrerbuch was introduced[7] as well as prose conversation.[8]

Two years later the Government began a little more liberal following the lead of Austria; it arranged its affairs with Rome in a manner not to be effective as long as Austria did not interfere too drastically in Catholic affairs,[9] and then turned its attention to the agricultural situation in the Veneto. It published and analized in the establishment of a land bank Bretzigny to aid the rehabilitation of the estates ruined by the Napoleonic wars. This was followed by a decree encouraging the sorts, although they had been free in Austria since 1809,[10] and regulating

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1. Beneth, 12, 184.
2. Stadler and Dreyer, Aus 1a
3. Cambridge Modern History
4. Mayer, 12, 22.
5. ibid.
6. Lehmanski, I, 420, 421.
7. Setzer, 12
8. Lutschenski, I, 320, 321.
9. Simon, The Emperor William
10. Zgorzi, I, 38
11. Ibid.
12. Lehmanski, I, 421.

the relations between landowner and farmer.[1] The difficult task of endowing the peasants with land and carrying out the other details was delegated to a Land Commission composed of the most enlightened proprietors, who were engaged in this work for a number of years.

Finally the provincial government or organization, sketched above, was introduced,[2] followed by the Law of May 27, 1824 granting the Poles fifty representatives in the Provincial Assembly which, however, did not meet until three years later. This law reintroduced the medieval organization into Three Estates, and seats were given to four nobles, twenty-two deputy nobles, sixteen city representatives and eight peasants.[3]

One of the first acts of this Assembly was to petition for a modification of the restrictive legislation of 1816, 1817, 1818 and 1819, but it received only evasive replies and half promises.[4] Then in 1828 the Government answered in a decisive manner; it restricted the franchise.[5]

During this same period of alternate cuffs and caresses the Government also took steps looking toward the organization of a national army for the Grand Duchy. To ascertain the wishes of the Poles in this respect, the former Legionnaire, Amilcar Kosciuski, was consulted,[6] but the outbreak of the insurrection in the Kingdom in 1825 frightened the King. Not until

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1. Petzet, 15 2. Ref.pp 12-18; Busch,II,164 3. James,92
4. Lutosanski,I,421 5. James,128 6, Lutosanski,I,421

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Finally the provincial governments or organizations, mentioned above, was introduced.[2] Followed by the Law of May 29, 1864 granting the Polish Diet representatives in the Provincial Assembly which, however, did not meet until three years later. This law reintroduced the medieval organization into the cities, and seats were given to four models, twenty-two deputy models, sixteen city representatives and eight peasants.[3]

One of the first acts of this assembly was to petition for a modification of the restrictive legislation of 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1866. But it received only evasive replies and half promises.[4] Then in 1868 the Government answered in a definite manner; it restricted the freedoms.[5]

During this same period of alternate gifts and entreaties the Government also took steps looking toward the organization of a national army for the Grand Duchy. To ascertain the wishes of the Poles in this respect, the former legionnaire, Mailor Kosobudzki, was consulted,[6] but the outbreak of the insurrection in the Kingdom in 1863 frightened the King. Not until

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1. Letters, 10 2. Ref.pp 16-19; Bunch, II,164 3. Lepper,98
4. Lucznowski,I,221 5. Lepper,130 6. Lucznowski,I,227

1848 was the matter given consideration again. The Poles also lost their sympathetic Oberpraesident, Sposetti who was replaced by Bauman, a less liberal minded German. One of his first acts was to increase the number of German officials in Posen on the ground of a more equitable distribution of offices.[1]

Between 1817 and 1827 the commercial clauses in the treaties of Vienna caused the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg not a little anxiety. Articles XXII-XXX[2] of the treaty between Prussia and Russia contain the promises of the two Governments to grant to the people of the territories taken in 1772 free commercial, industrial and agricultural relations with the territories annexed in 1815. Not until 1817[3] was a commission appointed to provide the machinery to make those clauses effective because the rulers considered that the Poles would receive undue advantages. The Commission's report in 1818 was unsatisfactory to Alexander, and he refused to accept it. The Commission then moved its headquarters from Warsaw to St. Petersburg, and on December 19 an accord was reached. By this agreement commercial rights were extended to all the Polish territory between the Duna, Dnieper, Dniester and Oder rivers, the Sea and East Prussia. These rights included: (1) free navigation in the bays as well as on the entire length of the canals and up and down the rivers to their mouths, with the right to stop at ports on the way, subject to such imposts only as were necessary; (2) freedom of movement to and from the fairs by water

1. Lutosanski,I,421 2. Appendix,156-159 3. Lutosanski,I,438

1908 was the matter given consideration again. The Poles also lost their sympathetic Chairmanship, Sponnett who was replaced by Ramson, a less liberal minded German. One of his first acts was to increase the number of German officials in Posen on the ground of a more equitable distribution of offices.[1]

Between 1917 and 1920 the commercial clauses in the treaties of Vienna caused the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg not a little anxiety. Articles XXII-XXX[2] of the treaty between Prussia and Russia contain the grievances of the two governments in great to the people of the territories taken in 1772 from commercial, industrial and agricultural relations with the territories ceded in 1815. Not until 1917[3] was a commission appointed to provide the machinery to make these clauses effective because the rulers considered that the Poles would receive undue advantages. The Commission's report in 1919 was unsatisfactory to Alexander, and he refused to accept it. The Commission then served its handiwork from Warsaw to St. Petersburg, and on December 19 an accord was reached. By this agreement commercial rights were extended to all the Polish provinces between the Prussian, Austrian, Galician and Dnieper rivers, the Ian and Bug tributaries. These rights included: (1) free navigation in the boys as well as on the entire length of the Vistula and up and down the rivers to their mouths, with the right to stop at ports on the way, subject to such imposts only as were necessary; (2) freedom of conveyance to and from the Baltic by water

1. Interpellation, I, 471 2. Appendix, 102-108 3. Interpellation, I, 450

or land; (3) freedom to buy and sell the products of the countries; (4) permission to deposit in the cities or ports, and similar rights pertaining to economic relations. The restrictions were not more burdensome than usual at that time; they consisted in obeying the police regulations and rules for floating timber; paying the tolls and tariffs that might be considered necessary or advisable by the two powers; paying the Schiffs=Gefaess=Geldes on the Vistula; procuring passports; and paying the Tobacco and Salt taxes of Russia, and the Salt, Linen, Woolen, and Copper taxes of Prussia.[1]

These provisions soon proved not to be in the interests of Prussia nor of the Prussian Poles, but by special favors granted to the Prussians the market for Polish goods dwindled and local Polish industry was threatened with ruin.

Early in 1822 Alexander complained to Frederick William of the evil effects of the Convention of 1818, but the Prussian King made polite excuses and was not yet willing to talk of changes. Alexander retaliated by special tariffs to benefit Russia's products. It was Frederick William's turn to protest. The following year Alexander wrote to Frederick William that he had entrusted to Mohrenheim, the secretary general of commissions for the Grand Duke Constantine, the mission of harmonizing the differences between the two countries. In October 1824 Frederick sent an outline or draft of a convention which would be agreeable to him, and in December Alexander replied that he was

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1. Appendix 166-168.

the relations between landowner and farmer.[1] The difficult task of endowing the peasants with land and carrying out the other details was delegated to a land Commission composed of the most enlightened proprietors, who were engaged in this work for a number of years.

Finally the provincial government or organization, mentioned above, was introduced.[2] Followed by the law of May 27, 1864 granting the Poles fifty representatives in the Provincial assembly which, however, did not meet until three years later. This law reintroduced the medieval organization into three Sejmiks, and seats were given to four nobles, twenty-two deputy nobles, sixteen city representatives and eight peasants.[3]

One of the first acts of this Assembly was to petition for a modification of the restrictive legislation of 1862, 1863, 1863 and 1864, but it received only evasive replies and half promises.[4] Then in 1868 the Government answered in a definite manner; it repealed the Ukases.[5]

During this same period of alternate calls and retreats the Government also took steps looking toward the organization of a national army for the Grand Duchy. To ascertain the wishes of the Poles in this respect, the Former Legislature, Zemlaur Zemlawski, was convoked,[6] but the outbreak of the insurrection in the Kingdom in 1863 frightened the Zemlaur. Not until

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1. Tokarz, 18. 2. Ref. pp 18-19; Zanoch, 11,164. 3. Tokarz, 20.
4. Lubomirski, 1,491. 5. Tokarz,128. 6. Lubomirski, 2,492.

awaiting the latest reports from the Kingdom and was seriously considering his proposition. However, not until 1827 was an agreement reached that was satisfactory to both sovereigns, but Polish rights were ignored.[1]

Of this period of Prussian rule Bismark said in a speech in the autumn of 1867:

> 'When shortly after its acquisition by Prussia, the Province fell into distress through bad harvests, the administration could easily have relieved the Polish nobles of half their property.....It preferred, however, to assist them by founding a Credit Institution in Posen.....No political conditions were attached to the assistance thus afforded nor was any favor shown to persons of German nationality. Of the landed proprietors who settled and carried out the Provincial Ordinances, seventeen were Poles and only seven were Germans. The province was administered by a Committee composed exclusively of Poles, nor did the State alter these arrangements by reason of the events of 1830; it was only after the conspiracy of 1846, in which several provincial officials had taken part, that a royal officer was appointed as chief of the institution.....[2]

Revolt and Reaction 1830-1840

The years 1830 and 1831 were important to all the Polish territories but especially to the Poles of the Grand Duchy, for they signalized the beginning of a persecution which grew more and more intense and might finally have succeeded in annihilating the Polish people had it not been for the World War. In all those long gloomy years there were two short ten year periods during which the sun shone fitfully through the clouds,--1840-1850 and 1890-1900.

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1. Lutosanski, I, 438; Kelley, History of the House of Austria, IV, 452-453.
2. Bismark, The Man and the Statesman (Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismark) etc, II, 151-152.

awaiting the latest reports from the Kingdom and was earlessly considering his proposition. However, not until 1857 was an agreement reached that was satisfactory to both governments, but Polish rights were ignored.[1]

Of this period of Prussian rule Stenzel said in a speech in the autumn of 1867:

> 'Soon shortly after his accession to Prussia, the Provinces felt into distress through bad harvests, the administration could hardly have relieved the Polish nobles of half their property ..... It appeared, however, to assist them by founding a Credit Institution in Posen ..... No political conditions were attached to the assistance thus afforded nor was any favor shown to parties of German nationality. Of the landed proprietors who applied and secured out the provincial ordinances, several were Poles and only seven were Germans. The provinces was administered by a Committee composed exclusively of Poles, nor did the State either transgressing by reason of the events of 1830; it was only after the conspiracy of 1840, in which several provincial officials had taken part, that a royal officer was appointed as chief of this institution ..... '[2]

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1. Lusznowski, I. 1881; Dzieje, History of the House of Amelia, IV, 422-432.
2. Stenzel, The Man and the Statesman (Being the Reflections and Recollections of Count. Julius von Stenzel) 4th, II, 124-125.

With the outbreak of the revolt in the Kingdom in 1830, large numbers of Poles left the Duchy to join the Polish colors.[1] To protect his province from a similar insurrection Frederick William sent General Grolmann to Posen with six thousand troops to mobilize a corps under General Gneisenau. Prince Radziwill and the Oberpraesident, Baumann, were dismissed, the office of Stadthalter was abolished and E.H. Flottwell, a reactionary, was appointed Oberpraesident.

Sentiment in Germany and in Prussia was divided. The German people applauded the Poles, and the liberal poets, Platen, Halleck, Musset, Uhland and Heine expressed their enthusiasm in Polenlieder which the German children sang with as much enthusiasm as if they expressed German sentiments, much to Bismark's disgust.[2] In government circles in Prussia Bernstorff presented a memorial advising a reform of the courts which were rife with abuses, and when the King, in answer to Metternich's note of September 15, agreed to cooperate with Austria and Russia to put down the revolt, Bernstorff resigned. Of his successor, Ancillon, Sybel wrote 'formerly a fervent theologian, afterwards a weak politician and now an unconditional adherent of Metternich'.[3]

Meanwhile on March 29 Prussia and Russia signed a convention for the extradition of all political offenders, military deserters and other fugitives. In the Fall the Confederate

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1. Morfil,214; Fisher and Brooks,32 Twelve thousand Poles crossed over into the Kingdom during the revolt.
2. Fife, The German Empire between Two Wars,230-235; Buelow, Memoirs,I,544-545; Headlam, Bismark and the Foundation of the German Empire,173-4.
3, Sybel,I,89, 91-96.

1800 was the matter given consideration again. The Poles also lost their sympathetic Governor-in-chief, General who was replaced by Gaumer, a less liberal minded German. One of his first acts was to increase the number of German officials in Posen on the ground of a more equitable distribution of offices.[1]

Between 1817 and 1827 the commercial claimes in the treaties of Vienna caused the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg not a little anxiety. Articles XXIX-XXX[2] of the treaty between Prussia and Russia contain the promises of the two Governments to grant to the people of the territories taken in 1772 free commercial, industrial and agricultural relations with the territories annexed in 1815. Yet until 1827[3] was a commission appointed to provide the machinery to make those clauses effective because the rulers considered that the Poles would receive undue advantages. The Commission's report in 1819 was unsatisfactory to Alexander, and he refused to accept it. The Commission then moved its headquarters from Warsaw to St. Petersburg, and on December 19 an accord was reached. By this agreement commercial rights were extended to all the Polish territory between the Dune, Dnieper, Dniestr and Oder rivers, the Sea and Black Prussia. These rights included: (1) free navigation in the seas as well as on the entire length of the canals and up and down the rivers to their source, with the right to stop at ports on the way, subject to such imposts only as were necessary; (2) freedom of movement to and from the Seas by water

1. Lutosawski, I, 201 2. Appendix 128-129 3. Lutosawski, I, 252

Diet forbade the circulation of petitions for political purposes, expecting thereby to check the flow of memorials favorable to the Poles. Censorship of the press was again introduced.[1]

By the end of the year Prussia was effectively intercepting the mails between the two countries, and the military forces on duty near the frontier had ripped up bridges, thrown up trenches, and were seizing all transports of arms and munitions destined for the new Polish government. The consuls were also ordered to require of all persons crossing the boundary line into the Kingdom passports with a Russian visa, thus preventing more Prussian Poles from joining their compatriots.[2]

On February 2 of the new year the Prussian Government published a decree requiring that all Prussian Poles in the Kingdom return to the Duchy before a certain date or suffer the confiscation of their estates and a prison sentence on their return.[3] This was followed by Ordinances of February 6 and April 26 forbidding assistance to the insurrectionists under pain of confiscation and imprisonment.[4] These threats, however, did not frighten the patriots. They continued their assistance by underground methods and paid the penalty when caught.

In spite of the assurances given by the new Polish government that their revolt was in no way directed against Prussian Poland, Frederick William was not convinced. He doubled his vigilance. All armed Poles caught in the act of crossing the frontier were arrested, disarmed and imprisoned. The King had

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1. Lutosanski,I,456. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. Lutosanski,I,498

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1. Lutzenkirch, I, 434. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. Lutzenkirch, I, 488

depots for the Russian troops established along the boundary line, but he refused to grant the request of the Russian ambassador for permission to cross the bridge at Thorn in order to attack the Poles from the rear. He did, however, express his willingness to raise no objections if Russian troops crossed the Vistula elsewhere.[1] Frederick William then laid his plans for active intervention, for he had Gneisenau's report from Posen in April that the favorable moment had come.[2] This step was taken in June in concert with Austria, and following the fall of Warsaw, the Poles capitulated to the Prussians in October and were disarmed.[3] The backbone of the revolt was broken, and the failure of this uprising was due to the failure of the Poles to rouse the interest and support of the people,[4] and their diplomatic failure to break down the cooperation between the Capitals.[5]

With the return of peace, the new Oberpraesident set about strengthening the position of Prussia in the Grand Duchy. In 1831 the Municipal Ordinances of 1809 were revised and introduced in Posen.[6] The ballot was no longer secret, direct and equal; it became indirect, three class, open or vocal. The electors were divided into three classes according to wealth or the amount of taxes they paid. When the amount of revenue to be raised by direct taxation for the following year was decided upon, the sum was divided into thirds, each class being responsible for its third of the total, and thus becoming entitled to

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1. Lutosanski, I, 456.
2. Lutosanski, I, 473-475.
3. Lutosanski, I, 481,493
4. Maurice, The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-1849,80.
5. Lutosanski, I, 459-461.
6. James, 128.

depots for the Russian troops established along the boundary line, but he refused to grant the request of the Russian ambassador for permission to cross the bridge at Tarno in order to attack the Poles from the rear. He did, however, express his willingness to raise no objections if Russian troops crossed the Vistula elsewhere.[1] Frederick William then laid his plans for active intervention, for he had Chatzenau's report from Posen in April that the favorable moment had come.[2] This step was taken in June in concert with Austria, and following the fall of Warsaw the Poles capitulated to the Prussians in October and were disarmed.[3] The backbone of the revolt was broken, and the failure of this uprising was due to the failure of the Poles to rouse the interest and support of the peoples,[4] and their diplomatic failure to break down the cooperation between the Capitals.[5]

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1. Lutzenwski, I. 436.
2. Lutzenwski, I. 436-437.
3. Lutzenwski, I. 491, 492.
4. Laurie, The Revolutionary Movement of 1848-1849, 88.
5. Lutzenwski, I. 439-441.
6. Jarosz, 129.

vote. In the first class were only the wealthiest whose incomes or taxes equaled a third of the required revenue; in the second class, which was larger in number, those whose incomes or taxes met the second third of the city's needs, and in the third class only those citizens whose taxes or incomes would enable them to meet the last third. If the number of citizens in the third class could more than contribute their third of the taxes those left over after the third was paid were without a voice. Provision was also made for persons whose incomes or taxes entitled them to a place in the first or second class, but who could not vote with that class, because its assessment was already subscribed. If the number of councillors to be elected was not divisible by three, the second class claimed the first member left over, and the third the next, if there were one more needed.[1] With a system such as this the right to vote was dependent upon wealth, and since the classes voted separately, even in the city council, the wishes or opposition of the third class were not often heard, if a majority opinion was arrived at by the first two classes,-that is, if a majority for or against a measure was obtained by the votes of the first and second class councillors, the third class was not asked to register its opinion. One result of the system was that the representation of house owners was reduced about a half and the legislative and representative body was subordinated to the executive, so that the State recovered much of the control it had

1. Dawson, 57-61.

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1. Dawson, 67-68.

exercised prior to the Napoleonic period.[1]

In the Circles the voting power was similarly curtailed and many a Polish Landrat was replaced by a German who was nominated by the Government instead of being elected as heretofore.[2]

On April 14, 1832 the German language was declared the only language to be used by administrative officials exclusive of mayors and pastors.[3]

The following year by Cabinet Order of March 3 the confiscated estates of Polish patriots were divided and parcelled out to both German and Polish settlers. This act was followed on March 18 by an authorization to the Minister of Finance to buy up the estates mortgaged to supply funds for the revolutionists, with a fund of one million talers set aside for that purpose. This was the beginning of the policy of favoring the peasantry as against the landowner with the aim in mind of developing in them a German patriotism.[4] Of the confiscations of 1831 Bismark wrote:

> '....1400 persons were condemned to suffer confiscation and imprisonment, and 1200 of them were pardoned. Only twenty-two landowners were deprived of their estates, which, however, they were permitted to redeem by paying one-fifth of their value...The disturbances...shook the Polish provincial nobility's hold upon its landed property very seriously. Had the Government simply shut its eyes to that fact, the greater portion of the land, depreciated in value, would have fallen....into German hands; but the State came forward as a buyer, in order to save sums lent upon the estates, raise the price of land, and attract to the province men who might further its agricultural development. The estates purchased were sold, entire or in parcels, to buyers under conditions highly beneficial to the peasants inhabiting them. Had the State had mere

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1. Dawson 57-61.
2. Petzet, 15; Lutosanski,I,498-499.
3. Lutosanski, I, 499.
4. Lutosanski, I,498; Augur, pseud. Poliakov, A Bulwark of Democracy, 134-135.

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In the Circles the voting power was similarly curtailed and many a Polish landlord was replaced by a German who was nominated by the Government instead of being elected as heretofore.[2]

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1. Dawson 97-98. 2. Fostat, 135; Lutosawski, 1, 428-429.
3. Lutosawski, 1, 430. 4. Lutosawski, 1, 431; Auger, Prussia, Poland, & Bohemia of Germany, 136-138.

> Germanizing in view it would have excluded the Poles from these transactions, and imposed restrictions on the re-sale upon the German purchasers. It did nothing of the kind. That a good many estates have passed from Polish into German hands during the last few years is not attributable to Government instrumentality, but to the frivolity, extravagance and slovenly administration of the Polish nobles.'[1]

Fearing a new outbreak on Polish soil inspired by the uprising in Frankfort, the Chancellors of Austria, Prussia and Russia met at Teplitz, and the two Emperors met with the Crown Prince of Prussia at Muenchengraetz, the former to advise on steps to be taken to deal with the Frankfort affair, and the latter, to solemnly pledge mutual aid in the suppression of any and all revolutions, especially, of any originating on Polish soil. Prussia and Russia renewed their promises in September and again in October when they agreed not only to assist each other but to extradite all insurgents and traitors, and to suppress all patriotic societies.[2]

About the same time the relations between the Church and the State became unsettled, the occasion being the question of the orthodoxy of the teaching at the Theological Seminaries, especially those of the professors at Bonn, and the problem of mixed marriages.[3] In 1803 a Prussian ordinance stated that the father of a child born of a mixed marriage should decide in which confession it was to be brought up. In 1830 was published a Papal Brief frowning upon mixed marriages, but provided that mixed marriages were permissible if the child received Catholic instruction. About 1833 the Archbishop of

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1. Reminiscences,II,151-152. 2. Sybel,I,96,97.
3. Lutosanski,I,526-528; Simon, The Emperor William and his Reign,II,202-3.

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1. Westphalessen, II, 111-112. 2. Ranke, I, 86, 87.
3. Lutzenberg, I, 396-398; Sloan, The Emperor William and his Reign, II, 208-9.

Cologne began to refuse to sanction such unions, and in 1835 Dunin, Archbishop of Posen, followed suit, in spite of the Papal Brief. Dunin was called to Berlin to answer for his declaration. He fled and was caught, tried, deposed and imprisoned. The excitement grew so intense in Posen that on October 9, 1839 he was sent to Kolberg and imprisoned in the fortress. Pope Gregory XVI approved of Dunin's act and rejected all offers of conciliation until he and others similarly treated were reinstated. During the trial of strength between Church and State a newspaper war was carried on between the Catholic and Protestant journals. In the midst of the controversy Frederick William died, and the matter hung fire for a time.[1]

During this phase of the Kulturkampf other changes were taking place. The process of creating peasant proprietors was speeded up and the compensation to the nobles was reduced. This aggravated class differences, a policy in which the Prussian Government delighted. By persisting in it the Government hoped to depolonize the peasants more quickly, knowing that without the support of the mass of the people the nobility could not make a successful revolution.

The jurisdiction of the State police was broadened. By an Ordinance of December 10, 1836 the police duties of the Amtsmaenner were abolished and that authority passed into the hands of Distriktkommissarien.[2] These measures did not, however, effect the results expected. In spite of the interference of

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1. Menzel, History of Germany,III,428,430; Sybel,I,103; Lutosanski,I,499 Marriott and Robertson,301.
2. James,127,note 1; Lutosanski,I,498-499; Petzet,15.

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1. Manual, History of Germany, III, 488-489; Cybel, I, 1884; Interrenkl, I, 189 Kerrlotk and Kobertson, 201.
2. Lamon, 147, note 1; Interrenkl, I, 488-489; Fetzel, 18.

German officialdom, the peasantry and nobility cooperated, and the growth of the cities was stimulated by the immigration to them of Poles who had sold their property. In the cities instead of squandering their money as the Government expected, they used it not only to establish and encourage commerce and industry, but to found and maintain libraries. The aspect of the cities soon began to change, to lose its German character.

About this time Dr. Karl Marcinkowski,[1] respected by Germans and Poles alike, and influential in the life of Posen, revived the Credit Association for Landowners and erected the Bazar through which trade in Polish agricultural produce was handled. He also established a society for the higher education of poor students which he opened to both Germans and Poles. Politics was banned at the official meetings although the controlling board were Polish patriots, but at the private conferences of the directors the political situation was the chief topic of discussion. The society was built up as a federation of local committees, one in each provincial district. These committees collected money and recommended the students for scholarships. To increase the number of subscribers to the society, the names of donors were published, and those who had not yet contributed were made to feel the weight of public disapproval. The organization was so successful that it was active more than eighty years and was supported by the powerful influence of clergy. Archbishop Dunin and his suc-

1. Poliakov, 109-115.

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1. Polakowo, 1824-1912.

cessors urged their subordinate clergy to give their hearty support to so worthy an enterprise. After the society had paid for the education of the students chosen, it tried to find them positions in the province that the work might continue. The most important result of its activities was the development of a strongly national middle class who spread their influence among the Poles of West Prussia.[1] In politics this new class was moderate and not in favor of revolutionary antics, although it was subjected to much of the propaganda of the political factions in exile abroad.[2]

As a result of the prominent part played by the clergy in this new organization and the training the Poles received at the Universities now supervised by the State, they became the leaders of the opposition to the Kulturkampf. They made the contest so bitter that the diplomatic Cardinal Stablewski could not effect a lasting reconciliation.

The Policy of Frederick William IV 1840-1850

On his accession to the throne Frederick William IV hastily made peace with the Vatican by restoring Archbishop Dunin to his See, accepting the Papal Brief of 1830, and agreeing to let the Church regulate on dogma and similar matters,[3] in return for the right to supervise the universities. To look after the affairs of Prussia's Catholic subjects he established a Ministry of Spiritual Affairs in the Department

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1. Poliakov,109-115. 2. Poliakiv,115-116.
3. Menzel,III,430.

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1. [illegible], 108-125. 2. [illegible], 115-116.
3. [illegible], 120.

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Then he turned his attention to the constitutional question which proved far more difficult of solution. In his Koenigsberg address during the ceremony of homage paid by the Estates of the Province, he refused emphatically to grant further constitutional liberties, stating that Prussia would develop along its traditional lines.[2] When he convoked the Provincial Assemblies to give them permanent committees and projects on which to work, he again refused the petitions for national representation.[3] By committees, which he ordered the Assemblies to appoint, the King believed he could give Prussia "an element of unity" without the risks of revolutionary changes. These Committees were to confer on such matters as the Provincial Assemblies were not in agreement. They met only twice, from October to November 1842 and in January 1848, but apparently accomplished nothing.[4]

In dissolving the Assembly of Posen on August 6, 1841 Frederick William gave the Poles his interpretation of their status as a province of Prussia. He said, in part, that the Grand Duchy

> ' is a province in the same sense as and in every respect identical with the other provinces subjected to our sceptre... The Polish nationality is entitled to consideration and protection by the Vienna treaty.. The praiseworthy attachment of this noble people to its language, manners, and historical traditions shall obtain recognition and favors under Our Government. But Our promises and intentions in this respect must be dependent upon the condition appended

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1. Simon, II, 203; Sybel, I, 114; Bismark, Reminiscences, etc., II, 138.
2. Menzel, III, 430; Simon, I, 20
3. Simon, I, 20-21; Forbes, William of Germany, 80 Because of Prince William's well known conservatism, he was held responsible for his brother's refusal.
4. Annals, V, 206.

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1. Simon, II, 204; Kohl, I, 114; Rissom, Emancipationsgesetze, etc., II, 134.
2. Wessel, III, 430; Rissom, I, 20
3. Simon, I, 20-21; Fischer, William of Germany, 20 Because of Prince William's well known conservatism, he was held responsible for his brother's refusal.
4. Annals, V, 208.

> to every gift, viz., that it must not be abused. The national feeling of the Posen Poles must for the future develop itself in the direction of their infrangible connection with Our Monarchy. Race differences, and the contrast between the designations 'Pole and German' must be blended in the name of the State - Prussia - to which they all belong in common and for law.'[1]

As proof of his good will and benevolent feeling for the Poles, the King released and pardoned the insurrectionists of 1830; the new Oberpraesident was instructed to have Polish again taught in the primary grades and in the lower classes of the secondary schools. Polish was to have equal rights with German in the courts.

As a result of this policy Posen, West Prussia and Saxony became the refuge of many fugitives from Galicia and the Kingdom. Posen especially became the focus of attention from the exiles[2] and it was split into two opposing camps, a conservative and a radical. The former were of the new middle class and those who appreciated the King's attitude, realizing that that the Poles would gain more by such a policy. The latter party were the irreconcilables, those who would stop at nothing to accomplish Polish independence. Had this group been in the majority, they might have been successful in 1846.

One of the centers of revolutionary activity was Leipzig, a convenient link between the exiles in Paris and the conspirators in Posen. This newest plot aimed at enlisting the sympathies of the German Liberals and defeating each Power separately. In 1842 the Paris exiles created a military corps of Republican radicals, and in Posen the patriots occupied

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1. Busch,II,164; Lutosanski,I,499. 2. Poliakov,115-117
The year of the abortive uprising in 1846, Marcinkowski, whose influence was waning, died afterliving some years in retirement.

themselves with organizing the Duchy, preparing it for a provisional government, and sending agitators into Galicia and the Kingdom. In 1843 the revolutionists had a Central Committee for its executive, and the number of Poles joining the conspirators mounted daily.[1]

The same year the Government became suspicious and dismissed the mayor of Gnesen, Roll, because he had acceded to the many petitions asking for permission to sing Polish songs. The Government became more aggravated when on St. John's day the children sang a Polish revolutionary anthem to the tune of a German folksong. The offending song was 'Mit dem Rauch der Feuersbruenste' (z dymém pozarów). To the further annoyance of the Government a Polish count flew a banner from his castle with the incendiary words 'Tod zu den Deutschen' (Smierć Niemcom). About the same time the Polish newspapers were especially offensive to the Government, the Evangelical Church, and German statesman and patriots.[2]

The following year the Poles captured a majority of the seats in the Municipal Council of Posen, and Marcinkowski, realizing that his influence was waning, retired, and died the next year.[3] In the Spring of 1845 the Radicals tried to seize the fortress in Posen, and the following year they again failed because their leader, Mieroslawski was betrayed by a fellow conspirator.[4] About a week before the insurrection was

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1. Lutosanski,I,555; Marriott and Robertson, 310-311.
2. Petzet, 21-24.
3. Poliakov, 116-7.
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1. Lutomirski, I. 88; Martloth and Robertson, 310-311.
2. Fetzel, 21-24.
3. Polikov, 116-7.
4. Polikov, 118-9.

scheduled to break out, the police made a raid during the night of the 13th to the 14th of February. Mieroslawski and about two hundred and fifty others were arrested. All attempts to free the chief failed, and the court decreed that eight should suffer the death penalty and twenty-four to be imprisoned for life. Posen was the scene of much excitement when a detachment of infantry, a squadron of dragoons and some artillery took possession of the main streets and squares, closed the city gates and made a thorough search for conspirators. About the same time the raids on Thorn and Starogard failed.

During these momentous days a party of students on a pilgrimage to place a wreath at the monument to Mickiewicz, the poet, were roughly handled by the police. This was a signal for renewed rioting in all parts of Poland in May, and encouraged the Democrats to believe that they indicated widespread revolutionary sentiment. They were mistaken, however, and quiet was soon restored.[1]

Berlin was not so easily silenced. The speeches of Mieroslawski and his defending counsel inflamed Poles, Liberals and Socialists alike. The preceding year Frederick William had been willing to make some concessions, but had been dissuaded by Prince William,[2] and now under more threatening circumstances he made concessions. On February 3, by

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1. Lutosanski,I,555; Sybel,I,127; An interesting account of the sentiments of the people and of the principles behind this abortive uprising is given in the Briefe eines polnischnen Edelmanes an einen deutschen Publicisten ueber die juensten Ereignisse in Polen and die hauptsaechliche bisher nur von deutschen Standpunkte betrachtete polnische Frage, Hamburg, Hoffman und Compe,1846.
2. Simon,I,22 ; Poliakov, 116-117.

Letters Patent the Provincial Assemblies were constituted a United Diet or central parliament with a Herrenhaus and an Abgeordnetenhaus. In the House of Lords Prince William took his seat and opposed all attempts to grant privileges to the House of Representatives which would, or tended to restrict the royal prerogative.[1] In the lower house he had an able ally in the person of Otto von Bismark-Schoenhausen who became the delegate from Brandenburg when its deputy for whom he was an alternate became ill.[2]

The first session of the United Diet met in Berlin in April and was not a success from the royal point of view. Instead of listening to expressions of gratitude, the Diet presented an Address censuring the royal acts and complaining that this body was not what they had been expecting nor wanted.[3] Then it rejected his finance bills.[4] Bismark, as was to be expected, had voted against the Address.[5] The King replied that nothing was wrong with the principles, they simply needed developing. The Deputies then demanded the Diet be called periodically and be consulted on all legislation. It should also have the power to accept or reject projects for State loans. The King refused,[6] with the support of the Absolutists and Ultra-radicals, though for different reasons. The latter opposed concessions because they weakened their excuse for revolutionary activities. The Liberals were not wholly satisfied;

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1. Simon, I, 24,26-27; Kruger, The Government and Politics of the German Empire, 312; Forbes, 84; 86 G.B. Smith, 7; Annals, V,206.
2. Munroe Smith, Bismark,3-4.
3. Simon, I, 27.
4. Annals, V, 206.
5. M. Smith, 4.
6. Annals, V, 206.

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1. Simon, I, 24,28-27; Kroger, The [illegible] Government and Politics of the German Empire, 324; Forbes, 34; 3. Simon, I, 27; 4. Simon, I, 28; 5. Kroger, 7; Simon, I, 20; 6. Simon, I, 29.

they desired ultimately a constitutional monarchy patterned after the English government.[1]

Early in 1848 the King met fresh opposition not only in the Central Diet but in the Provincial Assemblies. He temporarily silenced it by conceding the United Diet the right to meet regularly and to legislate within a limited sphere.[2] On March 7 he granted freedom of the press, and then refused to convoke a National Parliament as promised.[3] Meanwhile the workmen of Berlin presented to the City Council a petition for a more liberalized municipal government. Instead of granting that petition or sending it to the higher authorities, the Council drew up its own petition asking for a Prussian parliament, a freer press, trial by jury and representation in the Bundestag for the people. The King rejected it.[4]

Encouraged by the revolutions in Paris, Vienna and Cracow a great mass meeting and demonstration was held in the streets of Berlin on March 13. The gathering was fired upon by order of General Pfuel; the people fled; rallied and with the assistance of Poles and Rhinelanders pouring in from the provinces, they threw up barricades. Street fighting became general. On the following day the clamor for a free press and other progressive measures grew louder and fiercer. The King capitulated; he signed a decree, countersigned by the Ministers

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1. Forbes,85-86. 2. Simon,I,27-28. 3. Maurice,247.
4. Maurice, 247-248.

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1. Fowler, 80-90. 2. Sloan, 47-52. 3. Marriott, 242.
4. Marriott, 247-254.

convoking a General Diet to meet on April 24 to deliberate on federal and constitutional reform.[1]

On March 16 came the news of revolt in Posen and Silesia, and troops had to be called out to clear the streets.[2] Within three days the King promised to convoke a National Assembly on April 2, proclaimed the unification of Germany as a Federal State with a parliament and uniform laws, customs, currency, weights and measures, and a Federal army.[3] The Bundestag about this time appointed a committee of seventeen to consider a new constitution for the Federal State to be established.[4]

On the evening of the 18th a crowd of citizens from all parts of Prussia gathered to thank Frederick William. During this demonstration, someone, possibly from the ranks of the Radicals fired a shot, and pandemonium broke loose. For years Prince William was accused of having ordered the troops on the palace grounds to open fire, but the charge was never proved. There are, however, grounds for believing that if he had had the power he would have given such a signal, but it appears that his presence in Berlin at the time was not in his capacity as a military officer, and the corps that fired was not under his command.[5]

The next day the troops called in from Neufchatel refused to fire on the people .[6] This was too much for the King. Being essentially a man of peace he realized that the forces against

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1. Maurice,248,295; Sybel,I,154-155; Simon,I,29-31
2. Lutosanski,I,556 Maurice,248,296.
3. Maurice,248; Forbes,87,88; Garlepp, German's Iron Chancellor,84
4. Kruger,14-15; Sybel,I,180 The committee was under the chairmanship of Professor Dahlmann of the University of Bonn. He favored the inclusion of Prussia in the Union after East and West Prussia and the German half of Posen had been added to it.
5. Forbes,88,89;93; Bigelow,Prussianism and Pacifism,13.
6. Maurice,249.

convening a General Diet to meet on April 14 to deliberate on Federal and constitutional reform.[1]

On March 10 came the news of revolt in Posen and Silesia and troops had to be called out to clear the streets.[2] Within three days the King promised to convoke a National Assembly on April 2, proclaimed the unification of Germany as a federal State with a parliament and uniform laws, customs, currency, weights and measures, and a Federal army.[3] The Bundestag about this time appointed a committee of seventeen to consider a new constitution for the Federal State to be established.[4]

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1. Marriage, 244; Bebel, I, 134-135; Simon, I, 88-92.
2. Intermediate, I, 216; Marriage, 244, 266.
3. Marriage, 244; Forbes, 87, 88; Gustapp, Germany from Charles I to Bismarck, 14-15; Bebel, I, 140. The committee was under the chairmanship of Professor Dahlmann of the University of Bonn.
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5. Forbes, 88, 89; 103; Bigelow, Germany: Its and Politics, 4.
6. Marriage, 244.

him were too great to be overcome without precipitating a civil war. He submitted. He apologized for the action of his troops; he dismissed the ministers and chose others more liberal; and he promised to remove his forces from Berlin. On March 21 when the funeral procession of those killed in the recent rioting filed past the palace, the King paid them a tribute by removing his hat.[1]

To the political offenders he granted a general amnesty, and released Mieroslawski and the other conspirators of 1846. He kept his promise concerning the military by sending them into the provinces, and permitted the creation of a Burgher Guard, which gave to the released Poles the honor of guarding the main gates of the city. And in response to the clamor against his brother, he sent him to England to study the workings of the English constitution.[2]

Meanwhile in Posen a provisional government had been set up, which on the arrival of the Neufchatel troops in Berlin had sent Archbishop Przyluski at the head of a delegation to Berlin to present its demands to the King. It desired a Polish national army, administration, and a national guard; the retirement of the Prussian police; and a thorough reorganization of the Grand Duchy.[3]

By Cabinet Order of March 24 and Ministerial Rescript of March 26 the reorganization of the Duchy was authorized, pro-

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3. Poliakov, 120 and note.

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1. Maurice, 248; Gardiner, 84. 2. Forster, 20, 22, 23; Hamilton, 27.
3. Pflugk, 120 and note.

vided that Russian Poland was not tampered with. During the conversation with the Ministers the delegation received the impression that Polish independence had been recognized and that the Government was not opposed to a war with Russia. The National Committee in Posen therefore set to work; it elected a commission of seven Poles and two Germans to plan the reorganization; it negotiated with the Oberpraesident for the transference of the administration to Polish control; and it assured the Germans and Jews of equal rights in the new State. National Defense was not overlooked; it created a Military Department which began to enroll volunteers. The Prussian Government even raised no objections to the presence in Posen of a diplomatic mission from France.[1]

In their plans for their new State the Poles had the sympathy of the German Liberals[2] and outwardly the Oberpraesident and General in command appeared to obey their instructions. The state of siege inaugurated in 1846 was lifted, the soldiers withdrew to the fortress, and the civil police were ordered to put their services at the command of the provisional government. The subordinate officials as the Landraete and the Kommissarien passively resisted their orders and encouraged the German element to oppose the separation of the Grand Duchy from Prussia.[3] Soon Berlin was being swamped with petitions begging to be included in the new Germany. In the United Diet Bismark was one

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1. Poliakov, 120-121,124. 2. Sybel, I,165,166,175; Bismark,I Reminiscences, etc.,81-82; Lutosanski,I,555,570; Maurice,129/
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1. Polikov, 180-190, 194. 2. Syrel, I,2?? 1?? 1?4; Bismark, Reminiscences, ??? 91-?00; Tuckermann, 8??,??0; Martins, 5. Polikov,194-198.

of the many spokesmen for the cause of the German minority in Posen.[1]

The situation was now complicated by the activities of a sort of irregular army composed of the radicals among the nobility with their retainers and peasantry. These roamed the countryside attacking the Germans and Jews despite the promises of the National Committee to protect them, and the provisional government seems to have done nothing to restrain them; it may even have encouraged them, since it also forgot the injunction against interfering in Russian Poland and Galicia, for it sent emissaries to stir up the people and collect contributions regardless of race.[2] Undoubtedly this irregular army was to a large extent responsible for the cruelties of the civil war which soon broke out, and for the loss of much of the support their cause had originally had in Prussia. Which party was the aggressor is very difficult to determine; each blamed the other and presented substantiating evidence. In Bromberg feeling ran very high and the clashes between German and Pole were more frequent, and unfortunately for the Polish cause these displays of ferocity created a revulsion of feeling in Prussian government circles. Sympathy for the 'noble Poles' began to cool. The Liberals, however, continued the support of them.

This liberal support was very much in evidence in Berlin on March 30 when they celebrated a triple triumph; the King was

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soon to open a Prussian Constitutional Convention, the Polish Question was not so troublesome, and the Bundestag of the Confederation in response to the request of the Vorparliament at Frankfort[1] had decreed the meeting of a German Representative Assembly on May 18. In this parade the floats were draped in the colors of Prussia, Poland and Germany, and the Poles recently released from prison had places of honor. To them in particular Frederick William directed his attention reiterating the promises of March 24 and 26.[2] These Poles fondly hoped for independence awarded as the reward for faithful service in the approaching war against Russia, and while awaiting the outbreak, Mieroslawski and other adventurous spirits fought for German liberty wherever their service seemed needed.[3]

By this time the situation in Posen had become more troubled, and in April the King sent General Willisen into the Duchy to quiet it with compromises. On the 11th the General promised a national government, language and courts, and amnesty for those who would lay down their arms and quietly return home. This settlement was accepted at Jaroslawiec and within a week Willisen announced that his conditions had been met and that he was satisfied with the results. According to the agreement Polish officials were to hold the executive offices throughout the administration and Poles and Germans were

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1. Kruger, 15-16 The Vorparliament was a conference of prominent German nationalists who had gathered in early March to give Germany a new constitution. Ploetz,492 It was presided over by Mittermaier and held four sessions. Sybel,I,169-170, 192.
2. Headlam,173-174; Lutosanski,I,558.
3. Maurice,248; Lutosanski,I,559; Sybel,I,165; Bismark, Reminiscences,I,81-82.

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By this time the situation in Posen had become more tranquil, and in April the King sent General William into the Duchy to quiet it with conciliation. On the 11th the General proclaimed a national government, language and courts, and ready for those who would lay down their arms and quietly return home. This settlement was accepted at Jarocinskie and within a week William announced that his conditions had been met and that he was satisfied with the results. According to the agreement Polish officials were to hold the executive offices throughout the administration and Poles and Germans were

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2. Heathcote, 172-174; Intosenmark, I, 83R.
3. Henrici, 248; Intosenmark, I, 83R; Sybel, I, 149; Blanmark, Revolutionen, I, 81-82.

to be the subordinate officials depending upon which race predominated in each locality. The courts were to use both languages. The Polish army corps with Polish officers was to be attached to the Silesian regiment.[1]

On the day the Agreement was signed Generals Colombe and Steinacker with thirty thousand troops at their command refused to abide by the agreement; instead of concentrating their forces in the garrisons as ordered, they dispersed them throughout the Duchy.[2] Civil war began in earnest. The effect of the war, the petitions, and the articles of Bismark in the conservative journals was a change in Government policy. On April 14 and again on the 26th the decrees concerning the reorganization were changed. Now only that part of the Duchy which was predominantly Polish was to be affected by the changes. The military and the bureaucrats had won at Berlin. Posen lost to Prussia not only the ancient Netze district with the exception of part of the Circle of Inowroclaw, but the Circles of Birnbaum (Miedzychod), Meseritz (Miedzyrzece), Bomst (Babimost), Frauenstadt (Wschowa), Samter (Szamotuly), and Buk; the southern part of the Circles of Krochin and Krotoschin (Krotoszyn), and the city of Kempen.[3] This led to open and determined opposition, and on April 28 Mieroslawski was given the command of ten thousand troops that had been recruited for the Russian war, all thought of which had by now been dismissed. Regulars and irregulars bent every effort to drive out the enemy. On

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1. Lutosanski, I, 564-565.
2. Sybel, I, 175; Lutosanski, I, 570-571.
3. Lutosanski, I, 566; Sybel, I, 235-236

May 5 the Prussian Government recalled General von Willisen and sent General Pfuel with more troops to take charge of the pacification of the province. Four days later the Poles capitulated at Mierzynowo, and the fortress of Posen received them as prisoners.[1]

The defeat of the Poles was followed on May 12 by further restrictions of territory, and on June 4 new limits were again given to the Duchy when it lost part of the District of Hohensalza (Inowroclaw), another part of Posen, and all of Koscian (Kostyn). In at least one instance, the boundary was shifted simply because a German happened to own land on the other side of the line. At the head of this pigmy organism was placed a Polish Oberpraesident, but only after many nominations had been refused on patriotic grounds, was a Pole found willing to accept such a position, for in the eyes of the irreconcilables such acceptance was tantamount to acquiescence in a new partition. The Grand Duchy suffered a still greater humiliation when on July 27 following a bitter three day debate it was reduced to the position of a province of Prussia, and as such was included in the new German Confederation, by a vote of twenty-six to seventeen in its assembly.[2]

With Mieroslawski in prison awaiting execution, Karl Libelt became the leader of the Democrats,[3] but willingness to be led by extremists was at an end. The province gladly re-

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1. Lutosanski, I, 571; Sybel I, 172-173; Maurice, 370.
2. Lutosanski, I, 573-574;563. Sybel I, 236-238; Bigelow, 141.
3. Poliakov, 127.

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1. Lutomerski, I. 97-98; Sybel, I. 272-273; Kancler, 370.
2. Lutomerski, I. 99-100; Sybel I. 276-278; Kiesel, 3. Tolilakov, 127. Ibid.

turned to the principles of Marcinkowski. Some time in June the Polish League was organized with Archbishop Przyluski as honorary chairman. Its propaganda was to include West Prussia and Silesia and had headquarters in Berlin. Their chief aim was the return of the Polish language to all spheres of public life, and they became so influential that the society was suppressed in 1850. Its members did not stop their activities, but carried them on by underground means and finally emerged years later as the National Democratic party. With it originated the idea put into practice later of the social and economic boycott.[1]

In Germany throughout those disheartening years the Poles had the support of the Liberals and Radicals. Although the Vorparliament was in agreement with the Confederate Diet in Berlin that East and West Prussia were entitled to representation in the Federal Diet, it preferred to leave the matter of representation for German Posen to the decision of the Frankfort parliament. It did, however, go on record in support of Polish liberty; it had the courage to declare the partitions of Poland 'infamous'; it openly announced that it considered the restoration of Poland to be a 'duty of the German nation'; and it advised the State governments of the Confederation to permit Poles returning to the country unarmed a free passage through their territories. It also suggested that these same Governments give assistance to them according to their needs.[2]

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1. Poliakov,129 and note, 130. 2. Maurice, 295-296; Lutosanski,I,562; Sybel,I,170-171.

turned to the guardians of Warszawska. Some time in June the Polish League was organized with Kozmiński Przyłucki as honorary chairman. Its propaganda was to include East Prussia and Silesia and had headquarters in Berlin. Their chief aim was the return of the Polish language to all spheres of public life, and they became so influential that the society was suppressed in 1920. The members did not stop their activities, but carried them on by underground means and finally emerged years later as the National Democratic party. With it originated the idea put into practice later of the social and economic boycott.[1]

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1. Polishov, 188 and note, 120. 2. Sauvigne, 324-328; Lebzeltern, 1,308; Sybel, 5,170-171.

In the face of the revolutions not only in the German States but in other countries, the German governments were conciliatory until they learned that the South German party led by the poet Herwegh desired war with Russia to restore all Poland, and that the Polish government also wanted such a war, hoping to receive West Prussia in payment for service rendered.[1]

Meanwhile on May 18, the National Assembly promised by the Bundestag on March 30 was elected by universal manhood suffrage on the basis of one representative for every fifty thousand citizens, and met in St. Paul's cathedral in Frankfort "to act in concert with the State Governments in drawing up an Imperial Constitution".[2] The deputies to the number of about six hundred were, however, much more inspired by the inscription above the president's chair in the cathedral than by the Act of the Bundestag. This inscription called upon them "to bring back to the Fatherland its former prosperity and glory".[3]

Bravely the Parliament set to work on its self appointed task, but unfortunately its discussions were far too theoretical and idealistic to produce practical results. In fact, although its members were the most brilliant men of the times, their resolutions and decisions were never seriously considered by the men of affairs in the Eastern Provinces. As one writer put it:

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1. Sybel,I,173,177-178. 2. M.Smith,7; Krueger,15-16; Sybel, I,170-171; Bismark, Reminiscences,I,note p.60.
3. Sybel,I,192.

In the face of the revolutions not only in the German States but in other countries, the German governments were conciliatory until they learned that the South German party led by the poet Herwegh desired war with Russia to restore all Poland, and that the Polish government also wanted such a war, hoping to receive West Prussia in payment for service rendered.[1]

Meanwhile on May 18, the National Assembly convened by the Bundestag on March 30 was elected by universal manhood suffrage on the basis of one representative for every fifty thousand souls, and met in St. Paul's cathedral in Frankfort "to act in concert with the State Governments in drawing up an Imperial constitution".[2] The deputies to the number of about six hundred were, however, much more inspired by the inscription above the presidential chair in the cathedral than by the act of the Bundestag. This inscription called upon them "to bring back to the Fatherland its former prosperity and glory".[3]

Formally the Parliament set to work on its self appointed task, but unfortunately its discussions were far too theoretical and idealistic to produce practical results. In fact, although its members were the most brilliant men of the times, their resolutions and decisions were never seriously considered by the men of affairs in the Eastern Provinces. As one writer put it:

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1. Sybel, I, 172-179. 2. M. Smith, Bismarck, 1, 18-19 (Engl.).
I, 170-171; Stewart, Revolutionary Germany, I, note p. 60.
3. Sybel, I, 188.

> "They took too much pleasure in the brilliant scintillations of oratory. They followed vague ideals defending them with dogmatic fanaticism and scorning to seek the attainable through compromise."[1]

On the Polish Question, for instance, this disputatious spirit was clearly in evidence. On the 24th of July the debate began and lasted three days. The problem was: Is Prussia justified in separating German Posen from Polish Posen, and if so, are the German deputies from Posen entitled to seats in the Parliament? The radical partisan of the Poles, Robet Blum gave his answer to the second question first and then discoursed at great length on the services the Poles had rendered civilization. He made a motion that the question of the admittance of the Germans from Posen should not be settled until the exact boundary between the two parts had been settled. As for the Poles of Posen his argument was that only by a resurrected Poland firmly established in the family of nations could Germany forget its fear of Russian aggression.[2]

Following a remark that the Germans in Posen had settled there of their own free will and therefore had no cause to complain, William Jordan of Berlin retorted that anyone who suggested the e xpulsion of half a million Germans was "guilty of high treason"; and the radical philosopher, Arnold Ruge, declared that the new international principle, the liberty of nations, "demanded" the restoration of Poland. The discussion ended with a majority of the Assembly still favoring Polish aspirations, yet a larger majority favored the admission of the German deputies.[3]

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1. Krueger, 59.
2. Sybel, I, 236-237.
3. Sybel, I, 237-238.

> They took too much pleasure in the brilliant possibilities of opacity. They followed vague ideals derivating them with dogmatic formulations and according to each the attainable through cooperation.[1]

On the Polish question, for instance, this disputations subtlety was clearly in evidence. On the eve of duty the debate began and lasted three days. The problem was: is Prussia justified in separating German Poles from Polish Poland, and if so, are the German deputies from Posen entitled to vote in the Prussian Senate? The medical partisan of the Poles, Robert Blum gave his answer to the second question first and then discussed it great length on the assertions the Poles had rendered civilization. He made a point that the question of the adhesions of the Germans from Posen should not be settled until the exact boundary between the two peoples had been settled. As for the Poles of Posen his argument was that only by a transported Polish Family established in the Duchy of Austrian could Germany forget its fear of Russian aggression.[2]

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1. Kessler, op. cit. 2. Sybel, op. cit., 224-227.
3. Sybel, op. cit., 227-229.

The attempt of the Prussian Liberals to draw up a constitution on progressive principles was not without an affect upon the destinies of the Poles, for the Liberal failure to check the Radicals so frightened the Government that the constitution it finally accepted in 1850 granted no unconditional rights or liberties to the Prussians, nor gave any national guarantees to the Poles. The first session of the Prussian Constitutional Convention opened about two weeks after the capitulation of the Poles and ten days after the second partition of the Grand Duchy. The election law which had governed the choice of the delegates was evidence that the Government was already beginning to regain its control. The delegates had been chosen indirectly on the household basis.[1] Every male citizen over twenty-four had the right to vote for the electors who then chose the deputies to the Convention. To this body the King presented a draft of a constitution declaring that:

> 'the future representative of the people shall in any case have the right to approve or reject all laws, grant all taxes and ratify the provisions of the budget.'[2]

The Liberals accepted it and appointed a Committee to examine it and suggest changes.

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1. Forster, 22. 2. Kumelis, V, 229.

William was recalled, in case his military service might be needed.[1] Meanwhile the electoral district of Wirsitz in Posen had chosen him their representative in the Assembly.[2] On his homeward journey, Prince William wrote his brother that he would recognize the constitution to be granted in whatever way was prescribed.[3] In June he arrived in Berlin, and in uniform went directly to the Opera House where the Assembly was in session and where he was greeted by hisses from the Left which remained seated. In a short declaration he expressed his loyalty to the new regime, left the Hall and rejoined the imperial family at Potsdam.[4]

The day preceding the incorporation of Posen as a province of Prussia the committee presented a new draft of the constitution, which was first considered by the Provincial Assemblies.[5] Meanwhile the Government continued its pacification of Posen against which the Liberals protested in vain. They accused General Pfuel of stirring up riots and encouraging the Germans in acts of barbarism such as branding or shaving the heads of their Polish prisoners.

> ".....their priests had been murdered, and their images desecrated. These cruelties and insults provoked not only anger, but fear; for some of the Prussian Liberals believed that the troops there used against the Poles might end in trampling out the liberties of Berlin."[6]

It is possible that the Liberals may have heard rumors of Czar Nicholas' offer of fifty thousand troops, then massed on the frontier to put down the revolt,[7] proof of which was published

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1. Forbes, 98; Maurice, 370.
2. Forbes, 99; Simon, I, 43.
3. Forbes, 99.
4. Forbes, 100-103.
5. Annals, V, 207.
6. Maurice, 404.
7. Poliakov, 125-126.

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1. Sybel, 89; Mendelssohn, 370.
2. Forbes, 39; Simon, [illegible].
3. Forbes, 39.
4. Forbes, 100-103.
5. Ansell, 1,407.
6. Meriam, [illegible].
7. Sybel, 120-[illegible].

about twenty years later. A Memoire, supposed to be the work of the Czar advised Frederick William to direct the troops in the provinces against Berlin, the Czar being willing to assist with certain corps stationed in the Kingdom. He blamed the Prussian King's concessions to an infection of Liberalism, and suggested the engineering of an uprising of the provinces to be followed by a royal proclamation explaining the revolution in such a way as to appeal to the middle class. It was also to denounce Liberalism "as the cause of insurrection", and then the King should annul all the concessions granted since 1847.

> "The Memoire declared that Berlin was not Prussia and could not give laws to the Kingdom. If the King bends to the will of Berlin it is proof that he is not his own master, and that he yields to force. 'In this unfortunate case.... I consider that the Prince of Prussia ought not to submit. He must vindicate his inalienable rights; he must assert them sword in hand. He would have on his side the whole army and the overwhelming majority of the nation.' The author points out two courses which the Prince might pursue: either he could put himself at the head of the troops stationed in Holstein and march on Berlin to deliver the King and punish the rebels as they deserve; or he could use the united help of the Generals Dohna and Colombe, commanders of the corps of East Prussia and of Posen, and proceed with them to Berlin. 'This second course.....would have the advantage of enabling the Prince to rely on the help of our army., but only in case of complications with France or South Germany.....'"[1]

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1. Simon, I, 29-31, 35-36,37 The King could not win the approval of Prince William to such a proposal.

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1. Sybel, I, 29-31, 37 The King could not win the approval of Prince William to such a proposal.

War party,[1] and by October when the Convention turned to consider the constitution again, the Left was no longer under control. The Government took fright.

The Left now proposed to delete the phrase 'by the Grace of God'[2] and passed resolutions tending toward the abolition of nobility.[3] Cabinets rose and fell because none could command a majority,[4] and to increase the confusion the turbulent Berlin mob attacked the civil guard, seized the arsenal, pillaged it and then invaded the Opera House, where it threatened violence to any members who would oppose their measures.[5]

The King retaliated by forming a Conservative Cabinet, known as the Ministry of Rescue[6] which served on Parliament an ultimatum to retire to Brandenburg or dissolve. When the Convention protested, it was locked out of the Opera House and threatened by General Wrangel's troops which had been called in from the provinces. What the Liberals had feared, had happened. When they attempted to meet elsewhere they were dispersed. The more conservative deputies then retired to Brandenburg to continue their sessions, but the Left again threatened to control. To prevant that and the utter failure of the Assembly, the King dissolved it on December 5.[7]

The King now determined to clip parliament's wings. He broke up the civic guard and promulgated his own constitution

1. Poliakov, 125-126.
2. Simon, I, 49.
3. Annals, V, 207.
4. Forbes, 103.
5. Forbes, 103.
6. Simon, I, 49-50 In November the Ministry of Rescue was appointed with the King's uncle, the Count of Brandenburg as its president and Baron Manteufel as Minister of Interior.
7. Annals, V, 207; Forbes, 104-106 Berlin was declared in a state of seige.

called the 'octroyed'. This act he justified on the ground that an agreement between the Government and the Convention had proved impossible, and that the new constitution was satisfactory to the majority.[1] For such a declaration there was some basis, no doubt, for as Berlin grew more radical, the provinces became more conservative, and Bismark's articles in the Magdeburg-Zeitung and later in the Kreuz-Zeitung, which he had founded under the name of Neue Preussische Zeitung, no doubt contributed to this result.[2]

On February 26, 1849 the new parliament elected by a new election law introducing the three class system[3] met to consider the constitution. Among its members was Otto von Bismark, who had refused to stand for election to the Constitutional Convention and the Frankfort Parliament, but who had been very willing to become a candidate for election to the parliament now meeting under new and conservative principles.[4] Of him Frederick William once wrote, 'a red reactionary to be employed later on'.[5] His conservatism is shown in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies in September during a discussion of the constitution.

> 'According to our Constitution there exists in this country an independent Monarchy, which, indeed, has in the course of time (and particularly of late years) transferred a considerable part of its rights to the representatives of the people, but voluntarily, not for lack of resisting force.... The equality of rights of the Crown, the Upper and the Lower Chamber in the matter of legislation is the very basis of our Constitution. If you meddle with this equality of

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1. Simon,I,50-51; Annals,V,207. 2. Garlepp,87; Simon,I,49.
3. Annals,V,207. 4. Garlepp,86; M.Smith,11.
5. Garlepp,87.

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1. Blumen, I, 60-61; Annals, V, 207. 2. Darlapp, 97; Blumen, I, 62.
3. Annals, V, 207. 4. Darlapp, 88; Meinecke, II, 8.
5. Darlapp, 97.

> rights, to the prejudice of the Crown, - if you turn from this common rule in legislation dealing with taxation, its collection and outlay, you destroy the independence of the Crown in favor of parliamentary majorities, whose value is dependent upon the bold presumption that each and every Prussian Deputy of the future will be in a position to form an independent and unprejudiced judgment upon all possible questions of policy and legislation.'[1]

His attitude on the Polish question illustrates the King's opinion of him. In the Magdeburg Zeitung in 1849 he wrote:

> 'The people of Berlin have released the Poles from prison at the cost of their own blood; and of their own accord have escorted them in triumph through the streets. In return those released people have placed themselves at the head of bands of robbers, plundering and murdering the German inhabitants of a Prussian province, massacring and cruelly mutilating the women and children. Thus German enthusiasm has again pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for strangers..... not even our national good nature demands that we, inspired with romantic chivalry, should alienate from German States what German arms have, in the course of centuries, won in Poland..... A national development of a Polish spirit can lead to no other result than the establishment of an independent Polish State.'[2]

The attitude of the Liberals was, however, rather different. In April they presented their list of grievances among which were objections to the aristocratic character of the constitution, a protest against the return of Prince William, and a complaint against the unneccessary cruelty with which General Pfuel had put down the revolt in Posen.[3] In September the Polish question was again debated, and on this occasion Bismark said:

> 'No one can doubt that an independent Poland would be the irreconcilable enemy of Prussia, and would remain so till they had conquered the mouth of the

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1. Busch,I,7-8. 2. Garlepp,85-86. 3. Maurice,405-406.

Vistula and every Polish-speaking village in West and East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia.'[1]

These remarks must have made a deep impression upon the Assembly because it was only by a small majority that the Liberals passed a resolution favoring special rights for the province of Posen.[2]

Not until December was the Prussian parliament ready to submit the constitution to the King for signature, and on January 31, 1850 he accepted it.[3]

Not long after the opening of Prussia's parliament under the consitution of 1850, the St. Paul's Assembly had its constitution for Germany ready, excluding Austria from the new Federation, but, in order to get the support of the Democrats, the Liberals had made it so progressive that the Prussian Chamber refused to accept it;[4] and when, after a long debate which ended in the election of Frederick William IV as Emperor on March 28,[5] its deputation sent to offer the crown to the Prussian King was received with scant courtesy.[6] There were many reasons why the King refused the honor, among them might be listed his unwillingness to receive the Crown from the hands of representatives of the people;[7] his objection to ruling according to a constitution which so curtailed the royal prerogative; and the fact that of the five hundred and thirty-eight deputies only two hundred and ninety had voted for his election, and the others, - Austrians, Catholics, and Repub-

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1. Headlam, 174.
2. Maurice, 407-408.
3. Annals, V, 207; Appendix 170.
4. Krueger, 15-16; M.Smith, 9.
5. Simon, I, 52-53.
6. Bigelow, 14.
7. M. Smith, 8.

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1. Saalfeld, 174.
2. Mangold, 207-208.
3. Mangold, 207; Schmitz, 1-12; Schlitz, 2.
4. Schmitz, 1-12.
5. Schlitz, 174.
6. Schlitz, 12.
7. Sloan, 1, 88-92.
8. H. Smith, 2.

licans had declined to vote.[1]

As a result of the refusal of Prussia to accept the praesidency of the new confederation, Republican revolts broke out in several German States.[2] In Baden, for instance, the Grand Duke had to take refuge in Frankfort. The attempt of the representatives of the people to unite the Fatherland had failed, and the States one by one began to withdraw their delegates. Those who remained were driven from Frankfort, and fled to Stuttgart, but accomplished nothing.[3]

The Prussian Imperialists had learned their power. General Radowitz suggested to Frederick William that he try to organize a Federal State of all the States except Austria.[4] Negotiations were begun with the Northern group,[5] and on May 26 was created the Dreikoenigsbund, Hanover, Saxony, and Prussia. They agreed to a 'restricted union' under the leadership of Prussia and exclusive of Austria.[6] A Confederate Diet was then called at Erfurt in the spring of 1850 to draft a federal constitution. The invitation was accepted by all the States but Austria, who called a meeting of her own, the "Plenum of the Deutsches Bund" at Olmuetz where Prussia's plan was defeated by the united action of Austria and Russia.[7] The 'reestablished Bundestag' again held its meetings at Frankfort.[8]

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1. Simon, I, 52-3 This vote for the King had been taken under pressure from the royalist leaders, von Gagern and Welker, although they knew the King was unwilling.
2. Forbes, 107.
3. Simon, I,59.
4. Simon, I, 59-60.
5. M. Smith, 101.
6. Krueger, 16-17.
7. Krueger, 16-17; M. Smith, 10-11,12,13 Bismark represented Prussia at Erfurt.
8. M. Smith, 13 Bismark was appointed Prussian representative at Frankfort where he earned the hatred of Austria.

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1. Simon, I. 22-3 This vote for Prussia, 107.
2. Simon, I. 23-30.
3. Krieger, 16-17.
4. Zeller, 13 Schwerk was appointed Prussian representative at Frankfort.
5. Saxon, 1.
6. Saxon, 1.
7. Zeller, 13 Schwerk was sent to represent the interest of Austria.
8. Smith, 101.
9. Krieger, 16-17; Smith.
10-11. 14 Schwerk remonstrated against at Erfurt.

Prussian Poland 1849-1900

After the defeat of their highest hopes the wiser of the Poles engaged in no more revolutionary activity.[1] Some of them even preferred exile to remaining at home where they knew it would be impossible to effect any changes by parliamentary means, since Liberals and other Progressives were discredited, and the Poles themselves were only a handful, which grew smaller with the years. In five years their representation was cut from fifteen to five. In the Prussian Chamber the two major parties were not in sympathy with the Poles, the Democrats were not yet strong enough to win the Moderates from their alliance with the Reactionaries, and the Centre was not yet formed.

Following the promulgation of the constitution in 1849 the Polish deputies at first thought of resigning in order not to be obliged to take the oath of allegiance to it, but they finally followed their better judgment. On February 5, 1850 following the King's acceptance of the constitution the parliament had agreed to, the Poles signed a protest against the non-recognition of their national rights and petitioned to be allowed to take the oath with a reservation hoping in that way to effect some safeguard of their national interests, but the President of the Chamber refused with the words: 'If these gentlemen take the oath they must do so exactly and unconditionally'. The oath was taken.[2]

In September 1849 Prussia tightened its control in Posen.

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1. Fife, Chapter 12. 2. Lutosanski,I,576; Busch,II,164-165.

Prussian Poland 1919-1920

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In September 1922 Prussia tightened its control in Poznan.

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1. Fife, Chapter 16. 2. Laubenschmidt, Op.Cit. Bonn, II, 164-166.

General von Wrangel was transferred from Schleswig[1] to the 'Marks' as commander-in-chief, and proclaimed that if the citizens could not restore order he would.[2] Before long a blow was struck at the landowners through their Credit Society which was suppressed in 1850, thus forcing into bankruptcy during times of depression many of the larger proprietors. Such a depression year was 1850. Grain prices fell. Many Polish estates were forfeited to Germans, and the Government opened a credit society for their benefit, so that by 1865 Polish losses about equaled the property retained.[3] Another attack was made on them through the peasantry. After the dismissal of Flottwell the policy of creating small peasant holdings was temporarily discarded. About 1849 it was again introduced so that by 1865 only the feudal practice of manorial jurisdiction remained. This division into small holdings also worked a disadvantage on the German population, as in many cases a German proprietor found himself surrounded by independent Polish farmers, and the cause of Polonism advanced.[4]

The Polish newspapers through which the people were constantly excited against the Germans were subjected to numerous fines and other annoyances until they disappeared from circulation for ten years. Then to further isolate the people the Government forbade the sending of journals through the mails.[5]

According to the constitution the Catholic Church had regained its freedom, but although these clauses[6] were observed

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1. Garlepp,87.
2. Poliakov, 126.
3. Poliakov, 136-137.
4. Poliakov, 134,135,136.
5. Poliakov, 133-134; Appendix 171 Article 27 of the Constitution forbids the introduction of censorship, and states that every Prussian has the right to express his opinions freely; Sybel,II,127-128.
6. Appendix 170 Articles 12-19, 30 and 31; Sybel, II, 128; Simon I, 203-204.

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1. Gerlach, 42.
2. Gerlach, 124-125.
3. Gerlach, 125-126.
4. Gerlach, 126-128.
5. Gerlach, 128-129.
6. Gerlach, 129 or 130.

in Prussia's German provinces, they were not entirely regarded in Posen. In Prussia the State gave up its supervision of the activities of the clergy; it returned to the bishops their powers in education, the control of property, and the enforcement of morality; and it permitted the establishment of religious orders, including the Jesuits who became very powerful. In its conservatism the Government played into the hands of the Polish nationalists. It retained the denominational schools so that often there were German Catholic children in Polish Catholic schools,[1] yet to prevent the spread of Polish sympathies it had confiscated[2] all monastic property in Posen, sold it and used the proceeds for more schools in which the use of Polish was greatly restricted. Then it sent in German officials to replace the Poles transferred to the provinces in the West, yet these new officials were not the best type, since the Government used the eastern posts as places of punishment and thus made them unattractive to the capable and ambitious among the State's servants. The German cause in the East was further harmed when it was proven that one of the Distriktkommissarien had been convicted of blackmail eighteen times. Posen was also the exile for those suspected of radicalism; in fact, in at least one instance the province benefited by the transfer of a radical to its environment. An official had been exiled to Posen because he favored cooperative societies. The Poles early saw the value of such an

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Since the best of the avenues through which they might express themselves had been closed, Polish nationalism was driven underground where the Polish League, suppressed in 1850,[2] carried its propaganda into Silesia and West Prussia. That its activities were highly successful is proven by a speech of the Minister of Education, von Gossler, in the Prussian Chamber in 1883. He said that the number of German Catholics who had joined the Polish camp had steadily increased since 1849 in Posen, West Prussia, and Silesia.[3]

Also belonging to the year 1850 is the appointment of Johann von Puttkamer as Oberpraesident with Baerensprung, another red reactionary, as his Director of Police, a very important political office, since according to the constitution the Crown controlled the police in all parts of the Kingdom.[4] One of the results of this change was the great and steady increase in the number of police in the Eastern Provinces. Such an increase in expenditure was vigorously opposed in the Diet, and on one occasion when more than a million dollars was added to the budget for additional police the four protesting cities were of Slavic origin, Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, and Posen. These demanded that the administration of the police be handed over to the municipal authorities which would then provide the funds for their maintenance. The Minister

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1. Poliakov,132,133. 2. Poliakov,130. 3. Busch,I,144 note, Statement on November 8th and again on the 14th,1883.
4. Dawson,40,41,42,43.

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4. Dawson, 40, 41, 42, 44.

of Finance brusquely replied that they "had to pay all the necessary expenses already, on which account the government was under no obligation to bargain with them".[1]

On May 30, 1853 a new City Ordinance[2] was passed for the Eastern Provinces which superseded the earlier laws. The franchise was now to be exercised by 'independent persons', who were defined as males of at least twenty-four years, possessing households, and capable of freely disposing of their goods. This was later amended and the franchise was extended to all persons having a fixed minimum income which made them liable to local taxation. Before exercising that right, the citizen had to pay a citizenship fee the size of which was based upon his income. If the amount were high, he was permitted to pay on the instalment plan. The mayor was no longer to be an elected official, but an appointed and permanent functionary with the power to cancel elections to the Executive Council and then govern by commission. This proved an excellent weapon to stifle Polish sentiments as an anti-Polish mayor could silence his council by declaring the election void and govern by commission "whenever the interests of the State required it."

Manorial autonomy was again attacked but not abolished in the Eastern Provinces. The repressive policy was so successful, at least until about 1860, that von Sybel wrote:

> "The country of Poland.....remained in silent lethargy completely fettered by the military dictatorship....."[3]

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1. Dawson, 40-44. 2. James, 128, 129 and note1; Dawson, 54-55, 61-64 Dawson, Evolution of Modern Germany, 482.
3. Sybel, II, 526.

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1. Iwanski, 40-44. 2. James, 179,180 and notes; Dyson, 84-86, 91-94; Dawson, Evolution of Modern Germany, 486.
3. Sybel, II, 386.

The exiles in Paris and London, however, were very busy, and the partisans of the Poles throughout the Confederation had schemes for the restoration of Poland. Mieroslawski hoped for a democratic republic; Prince Adam Czartoryski and others desired the establishment of a Kingdom with Czartoryski as ruler;[1] others wrote pamphlets such as Krasinski's calling upon the European Powers to restore Poland under the protection of Prussia or Austria. There were not a few Germans in diplomatic circles who favored the restoration of Poland under Austria.[2] Napoleon also had a plan but he was too timid to support it actively in view of Prussia's opposition.[3]

Josias Bunsen, Prussian Ambassador to Great Britain, wrote a lengthy memorandum to Manteufel in April recommending the restoration of Poland, the extension of Austria to the Crimea and other changes in status or boundary as seemed to be made possible by the Crimean war.[4] Bismark was of a different opinion; he opposed the Liberals' plan of cooperation with the Western Powers against Russia on the ground that a defeated Russia would plot a war of revenge, and a restored Poland would threaten Prussia's hold on East Prussia.[5] Bismark also realized that a successful Russia might restore Poland and then East Prussia would again be menaced. He felt that neutrality was the best policy, yet to make sure that her Eastern Provinces were secure, Prussia on April 20 signed an offensive-defensive alliance with Austria

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1. Sybel, II, 526-7.
2. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 107; Busch, I, 145-146.
3. Sybel, II, 526-7.
4. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 122.
5. Lutosanski, I, 579; Bismark, I, 124.

"whereby Prussia pledged herself, if circumstances required, within thirty-six days to concentrate one hundred thousand men; one-third in East Prussia, and two-thirds in Posen or Breslau"[1]

and if necessary, would increase the force to two hundred thousand.

In July Bismark submitted a report on the Eastern Question:[2]

'Should Austria go to war with Russia she will not be able for any length of time to refrain from participation in the projects entertained by the Western Powers with respect to a restoration of Poland.....Austria's interests are less adverse to the restoration of Poland than those of Prussia or Russia;..... I am of the opinion that, had Austria to choose between Galicia and the Principalities, she would select the latter, which are more accessible to the German language and administration than are the Polish provinces; their population, moreover, is inoffensive; ... The dangers to which Hungary's tranquility would be exposed by the vicinity of Poland would be counterbalanced by the plentiful recruitment of elements hostile to the Magyars.....Furthermore, the restoration of Poland offers the following advantages to the Austrian system...1. Prussia would be weakened and held in check. 2. The perils of Panslavism would vanish as soon as there should exist two powerful Slav States differing in religion and nationality. 3. There would be another Roman Catholic State in Europe. 4. Poland.....would obviously become the latter's steadfast ally. 5. The restoration of Poland would afford to Austria, ...the only lasting guarantee against Russia's vengeance.[3]

in the event of a war with France on the Italian question or any other embarrassment. Bismark also suggested that there might be a repartition of Poland, or if the latter were made independent, Austria would receive the Principalities as compensation. Before the middle of October more definite plans for an independent Polish State were being considered. In a

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1. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 105.
2. Busch, I, 303-305.
3. Busch, I, 303-305 July 25, Letter of

letter to Bismark, General von Gerlach wrote that there was talk of an Austrian Archduke for the restored Duchy.[1] By November when there were signs of a Franco-Austria alliance against Prussia, Gerlach again wrote to Bismark that the alliance must be prevented because Prussia would lose the prestige it had won in 1813-1815, would be obliged to give up certain strategic points, and Napoleon would find a King for Poland, whose title would be at least as good as his.[2]

Meanwhile, the Liberals, the Wochenblatt party, as Bismark labeled them, had completed plans for a partition of Russia which was to give the Kingdom of Poland at its greatest extent to Prussia; the Baltic Provinces and St. Petersburg, to Sweden; and the rest to the Great and Little Russians, although much of the territory of Little Russia had once belonged to Poland. The reason for such a division was economic according to the theory of Baron von Haxtheusen-Abhenburg in his "Studies of the Internal Economy of Russia and the Life of the People, in particular, the Agrarian Institutions."

> "The three zones with their mutually supplementary products could not fail to secure predominance in Europe to the hundred millions of Russian provided they remained united."[3]

Hence to prevent such a catastrophe, the partition. None of these schemes bore fruit because Russia was defeated, and ceased to be a menace; the Powers were exhausted by a useless war, quarreled among themselves and lost interest in the Poles; and the Prussian Government never seriously considered a partition

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1. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 113-114 Letter of October 13.
2. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 115-116 Letter of November 15.
3. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 119-120; Sybel, II, 211-212 Preussisches Wochenblatt was founded by a group of prominent officials and diplomats, such as Count Goltz, Count Pourtales, Bethmann-Hollweg, Moltkis, and other Privy Councillors for the suppression of feudal tendencies.

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1. Bismarck, Reminiscences, I,113-114 Letter of October 19.
2. Bismarck, Reminiscences, I,115-116 Letter of November 13.
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These schemes and plans to reestablish Poland, and the lessening of oppression forced upon the King by the liberal tendencies of the Czar[1] brought Polish nationalsim out of hiding. Polish societies, scientific, agricultural and financial began to appear. Land agencies opened their doors, and a Polish newspaper was founded. Frederick William was losing his grip on the government. In 1857 he suffered a mental collapse and Prince William assumed the title of temporary regent; the following year the office was made permanent; and three years later on the death of his brother, he became King.

Changes were soon made in the administration of Posen. Puttkamer and other ultra conservatives were dismissed and men of more moderate opinion were chosen. But that is all. William as Regent had made it clear that neither Prussia nor Posen was to receive any favors that might restrict the power of the Crown in an address to the Progressives in 1858. He said that he:

> 'could never permit the progressive development of the nation's inner political life to question or endanger the rights of the Crown or the power of Prussia'.[2]

William as King insisted upon a coronation at Koenigsberg, the first since the crowning of Frederick the Great, and putting the crown on himself said: 'I receive this crown from God's hand and from no other'.[3] Sentiments like that were not likely to increase his popularity. The Poles were the first to be alienated. The revolutionary minority in close touch with events in Russian Po-

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1. Poliakov,137. 2. Forbes,114-115; Bigelow, 25.
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1. Polienov,147. 2. Forbes,114-115; Sybelow, 51.
3. Forbes,148.

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Meanwhile Bismark who had been recalled from Frankfort at the insistence of Austria in 1859,[2] was sent to St. Petersburg as ambassador and with the mission to gain the consent of Russia to William's plan to make Prussia the leading State in the Confederation.[3] While there he soon learned that the Liberal party in Russia was very small and that the downfall of Gortchakoff would be sufficient to change the Government's attitude toward the Poles. In 1862 he was sent to Paris on a similar mission, and was there long enough to see through Napoleon and his ministers and to leave behind the impression that he was a delightful man but really little better than a fool. He re-

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1. Sybel,II,528-567; 594; 2. M.Smith,17 He was recalled because Prussia was not yet ready to accept Bismark's Austrian Policy. 3. Bigelow,28; M.Smith,19.

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1. Spahl, II, 322-327; 324; 2. M.Smith, IV The was recalled because Prussia was not yet ready to accept Bismarck's Austria Policy. 3. Bulow, 29; M.Smith, 1a.

turned to Berlin just in time to prevent the King's abdication.[1] William had decided on that course because the Prussian Diet repeatedly refused to accept his military budget which called for increased expenditures to enlarge the army and introduce universal military service for three years.[2] Bismark now became Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Ministry. Later the Budget Committee were told:

> 'It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the time will have to be decided, - that was the mistake made in 1848 and 1849, - but by blood and iron.'[3]

The Bismarkian Era

Bismark immediately turned his attention to Polish affairs, but as long as Russia's attitude remained liberal, his hands were tied, and the Poles now led by Jackowski were busily occupied with further application of Marcinkowski's principles. In 1860, for instance, they had established a Central Agricultural Society,[4] which profited by Bismark's later attacks on the peasantry in increasing the number of small societies allied to the central organization from eleven, a few years after its foundation, to forty-five in 1875.[5]

Then burst the conflagration of 1862-1864 followed by rumors of a Franco-Russian alliance to be first directed against the Poles and later against Prussia. Such an alliance Bismark decided must be prevented at all costs, and he determined to keep

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1. Bigelow, 28,33 "...William shuddered slightly at the prospect of this partnership...because the venerable King (now 65) dreaded that his prospective chancellor would hurry him along with too much violence..." Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 293; M. Smith, 19 "William I disliked and distrusted Bismark's discretion".
2. Bigelow, 26-28 The Democrats were largely responsible for the defeat of the army plans and "suppression of all Liberals, began secretly, and by night by those zealous for advancement."
3. G.B. Smith, 58.
4. Poliakov, 140.
5. Poliakov, 142.

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3. Politikov, 140.
4. Politikov, 140.

Russia in her traditional alliance with Prussia. Early in 1863, he despatched General Gustav von Alvensleben to St. Petersburg with instructions to arrange for joint action by the two Powers against the insurgents.

> 'The King.....is firmly convinced that the interests of both governments are alike imperilled by the Polish uprising, and that any emancipation of the Polish element from the authority of the Emperor will not be limited in its effects to the boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland, but will disturb the peace as well of the neighboring portions of Prussia as of the western provinces of the Russian empire. In our view of the position of the two Courts with regard to the Polish revolution is substantially that of two allies threatened by a common enemy'.[1]

Isolated as he was by world condemnation[2] Alexander eagerly accepted this friendly overture. Gortchakoff, who neither liked Bismark nor his policy, was instructed to draw up an outline of a convention which Alvensleben then transmitted to Berlin.

> "At the request of the Russian or of the Prussian commander in chief, or of the frontier authorities on both sides, the generals of both nations should have full powers to render one another mutual assistance, and, in case of need, even to cross the frontier for the pursuit of the rebels who should pass from one country to the other. Officers from both sides appointed for the purpose, would be present at the headquarters of the generals in command and of the leaders of the different corps, and would be informed of all movements. There was another article which Gortchakoff begged should be kept secret: The Prussian commander was to be kept informed of all news received of Polish machinations affecting Posen",

and the outline ended with the words:

> 'The arrangement shall be for so long as the state of things requires it, and both Courts regard it as desirable.'

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1. Sybel,II,note 568; Morfil,267. 2. Busch,II113 The Western Powers, the Progressives of Prussia and the Liberals of Europe, all favored the Polish cause

The only addition made was that the secret article be reciprocal. The Convention was signed on February 8 by Alvensleben and Gortchakoff.[1]

The French interpreted this Convention as proof that the two allies regarded the insurrection as national.[2] Bismark in discussing the question with Sir Andrew Buchanan, the British ambassador gave the same impression: 'The Polish Question is a question of life and death'.[3] Then he explained the possibilities of the situation:

> "There were two parties among the Poles; the one, the extreme Republican, wished for the institution of an independent republic; the other would be content with self-government and national institutions under the Russian Crown; they were supported by a considerable party in Russia itself. Either party, if successful, could not be content with Russian Poland; they would demand Posen, they would never rest until they had gained again the coast of the Baltic and deprived Prussia of her eastern provinces. The danger to Prussia would be greatest.....if the Poles became redonciled to the Russians; an independent republic on their eastern frontier would be dangerous, but Polish aspirations supported by the Panslavonic party and the Russian army would be fatal."[4]

This point of view was also shared by the Prussian consul-general at Warsaw who wrote to Berlin that ' Wielopolski would be omnipotent and would manage Poland as he liked'.[5] Von Sybel, however, believed that Wielopolski, in spite of his hatred of the Germans, would most reluctantly support the extreme views of the Reds who had early in 1863 announced their

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1. Sybel,II,568; Lutosanski,I,598-599; Fife,234-235 Bismark's explanation of the Convention in the Reichstag, January 28, 1886; Busch,II,114. 2. Busch,II,114 February 17 Drouyn de l'Huys at Berlin 3. Headlam,171-172.
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1. Sybel, II, 389; Tatischeff, I, 308-309; Fir's, 324-325; Kisseleff's explanation of the Convention in the Ratiborzy, January 22, 1866; Sumb, II, 114. 2. Sumb, II, 114 February 17 Prince de Lynes at Berlin 3. Hendlan, 171-172. 4. Hendlan, 171-172. 5. Sybel, II, 389.

claims to extend to West Prussia, Posen, and Pomerania to the Oder, but that he would be forced to by the Poles and the Pan-Slavists. Another Prussian observer noted that the Reds once checked

> "Poland might, as the inheritance of the second son of the Russian Imperial House, become an independent kingdom strong enough to draw to itself Posen and Galicia....."[1]

Although Bismark outwardly permitted the world to believe he was alarmed by the Russian situation he wrote to the King on February 20 that Russia appeared to have the insurrection well in hand and the Prussia would hardly be called upon to intervene, but that the Convention secured for Prussia 'the gratitude of the Emperor Alexander and the sympathies of the Russians.'[2]

The news of the Convention of February 8 roused a storm of protest in the Lower House.[3] On February 26 the subject was debated, and the King instructed[4] Bismark to tell the deputies of the gratitude expressed by Germans and Poles in the eastern provinces.

> "for the energetic measures of my Government as the newspapers are blazing it abroad that the contrary took place. Our main object.... has thus been attained. No violations of the frontier have occurred....."[5]

During the course of the discussion Heinrich von Sybel remarked that Prussia should remain neutral. Bismark prefaced his reply

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1. Sybel,II,563,568. 2. Busch,Bismark,Some Secret Pages of History,II,458. 3. Busch,Our Chancellor,II,114; Buelow, IV,160,161; Marriott and Robertson,341; Sybel,II,583; Dawson, The German Empire,I,161-164.
4. Correspondence of William I and Bismark,I,Appendix,173.
5. Correspondence of William I and Bismark,I,Appendix,173.

claims to extend to West Prussia, Posen, and Pomerania to the Oder, but that he would be forced to by the Poles and the Pan-Slavists. Another Prussian observer noted that the Reds once checked

> "Poland might, as the inheritance of the second son of the Russian Imperial House, become an independent kingdom strong enough to draw to itself Posen and Galicia....."[1]

Although Bismark successfully persuaded the world to believe he was alarmed by the Russian situation he wrote to the King on February 20 that Russia appeared to have the insurrection well in hand and the Prussia would hardly be called upon to intervene, but that the Convention secured for Prussia 'the gratitude of the Emperor Alexander and the sympathies of the Russians.'[2]

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1. Sybel, II, 603, 604. 2. Busch, Bismark, Some Secret Pages of History, II, 458. 3. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 114; Beloff, IV, 160, 161; Hartlebt and Robertson, 541; Sybel, II, 583; Howard, The German Empire, I, 161-164.
4. Correspondence of William I and Bismark, I, Appendix, 175.
5. Correspondence of William I and Bismark, I, Appendix, 176.

with the sentiment, that he seems never to have tired of expressing, '...the tendency to enthusiasm for foreign nationalities...was a political disease unfortunately limited to Germany'.[1] He also told the House that treaty making power belonged to the Crown, that he would make war when he saw fit without consulting its wishes in the matter, and that Prussian policy would never be guided by their votes or attacks. Following the discussion, interpellations, and denunciations, the House passed a resolution 246-57:

> 'That the interest of Prussia requires that the Government in the face of the insurrection which has broken out in Poland, should not assist or favor either of the contending parties, or allow armed persons to touch Prussia soil without at the same time disarming them.'[2]

Later the president of the House attempted to discipline Bismark and was scolded by the King for his pains.[3] Finally on May 27 Bismark was empowered to end the session. One reason for such action said the Proclamation was that:

> 'By its debate upon foreign politics the Chamber had endeavored to paralyze the influence of the Government, and had thereby increased the excitement prevalent in the provinces bordering upon Poland. It had accepted misrepresentations of the opponents of Prussia, and aroused apprehensions of external dangers and entanglements in war, for which the existing relations to foreign Powers gave no well-founded cause.'[4]

On the first of June Bismark secured a Royal Decree suppressing the opposition journals.[5] The House finally dissolved on

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1. Headlam,172-174. 2. Robertson,Bismark,143-144;G.B.Smith, 64; Appendix 174. 3. G.B.Smith, 65. 4. G.B.Smith,66-67; Busch,Our Chancellor,17-18, Bismark's Speech in 1882 on the opposition to the February Convention.
5. G.B.Smith,67.

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1. Beadle, 172-174. 2. Robertson, Bismark, 143-144; 3. G. Smith, 64; Spenadle 174. 4. G.P. Smith, 85. 5. G. E. Smith, 86-87; Bragh, Our Chancellor, 17-18. Bismark's Speech in 1866 on the opposition to the February Convention.
6. G.P. Smith, 87.

September 4.

Following the signing of the February Convention Prussian troops had been stationed along the frontier from Insterburg to Oppeln, and thus carefully guarded the frontier so that Russian troops were relieved of half their task. Posen remained quiet but not inactive. In spite of the presence of troops they did manage to keep up the despatching of supplies across the border, but Polish resources were inadequate for a struggle of such magnitude, the Poles began to falter, and their defeat was hastened by the open condemnation of the Government's acts by the European Powers which threw the Russians into united support of their Government. Thus strengthened at home the Czar could take a firmer tone abroad. He refused to consider the Polish Question of international importance and interest to be settled by round table discussion.[1] In this stand he was supported by Bismark who told General Fleury in December that he would rather die than have the Polish Question discussed at a European conference.[2] He summed up the Prussian position:

> "The partitions of Poland were the well-merited fate of a State too anarchic to resist the strength of its neighbors. The dream of a reconstructed Poland on Liberal lines.....is simply a childish chimera. The independence of Russian Poland under the suzerainty of the Tsar would lead to a demand for the foundation of a Republic of Poland, a result absolutely fatal to the Prussian position in the East, and on the Baltic. The demand for autonomy and political liberties sprang from the same delusion about government that tainted the progressive and democratic parties in Germany. Concessions to Polish demands within Prussia are intrinsically inadmissible, and would embarrass the good friend, Russia. Prussia's interest must be the sole criterion of Prussia's policy, and rebellion on

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1. Lutosanski,I,708. 2. Robertson,142-143.

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1. Lutzenmark, I,708. 2. Robertson,146-148.

her borders was a serious danger; there were disquieting signs that the conflagration would spread, the sooner it was stamped out the better for every one concerned."[1]

As soon as the danger from the Polish insurrection in Russia had ceased to be a menace, and the civil authorities could again take up their duties, the Land Commission in Posen returned to its policy of splitting up the estates confiscated as the result of convictions for participation in the recent rebellion and conspiracy against the State.[2]

The Danish war seemed to be an opportune time for a new insurrection in Poland. The French Government proposed that a French army be allowed to cross to Posen to assist in a Polish insurrection, but when Arnim threatened a Russian alliance with Prussia against France, the French withdrew and the scheme collapsed.[3]

After his retirement from public life Bismark wrote of this period:[4]

"I took charge of the Foreign Office under the impression that the insurrection...brought up the question not only of the interests of our eastern provinces, but also that wider one, whether the Russian cabinet were dominated by Polish or anti-Polish proclivities, ... The policy of fraternisation found its more sincere adherents among the Russians; the Polish nobility and clergy hardly anticipated any result from it, or proposed it as the definitive end. Hardly a single Pole was there for whom the policy of fraternisation meant more than a tactical move designed to deceive credulous Russians so long as necessity or expediency required. In the Polish nobility and clergy fraternization with Russians excited not quite but almost as unalterable a repugnance as fraternisation with Germans, the greater strength of the latter antipathy being due not merely to race, but to the belief the Germans would never submit to the direction of the common policy of Polish statesmen....."

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1. Robertson,142-143. 2. Lutosanski,I,708-709.
3. Sybel,II,255. 4. Bismark,Reminiscences,I,335-336.

"For the German future of Prussia the attitude of Russia was a question of great importance. A philo-Polish Russian policy was calculated to vivify that Russo-French sympathy against which Prussia's effort had been directed since the peace of Paris, and on occasion earlier, an alliance (friendly to Poland) between Russia and France, such as was in the air before the Revolution of July, would have placed Prussia of that day in a difficult position. It was our interest to oppose the party in the Russian Cabinet which had Polish proclivities, even when they were the proclivities of Alexander I.

"That Russia herself afforded no security against fraternisation with Poland I was able to gather from confidential intercourse with Gortchakoff and the Czar himself. Czar Alexander was at that time not indisposed to withdraw from part of Poland, the left bank of the Vistula at any rate - so he told me in so many words - while he made unemphatic exception of Warsaw, which would always be desireable as a garrison town, and belonged strategically to the Vistula fortress triangle. Poland, he said, was for Russia a source of unrest and dangerous European complications; its Russification was forbidden by the difference of religion and the defective capacity for administration among Russian officials. Were it not our task to Germanize Poland, we should be equal to it, because the German population was more cultivated than the Polish; the Russian had not that sense of superiority which was needful for ruling the Poles; Russian administration must therefore be limited to a small portion of the population as the geographical situation permitted,

i.e. to the line of the Vistula with Warsaw as tête de pont."[1]

"In the Polish question Austria is confronted by no such difficulties as for us is indissolubly bound up with the reestablishment of Polish independence, difficulties incident to the adjustment of the respective claims of Poles and Germans in Poland and West Prussia, and to the situation of East Prussia. Our geographical position, and the intermixture of both nationalities in the eastern provinces including Silesia, compel us to retard, as far as possible, the opening of the Polish question, and even in 1863 made it appear advisable to do our best not to facilitate, but to obviate the opening of this question by Russia."

"The Prussian policy embodied in the military convention . ..... had a diplomatic rather than a military significance. It stood for the victory in the Russian Cabinet of Prussian over Polish policy..... The issue was determined by the personal decision of the Czar, in opposition to the policy of his ministers. An agreement between Russia and the German foe of Panslavism for joint action, military and political, against the Polish 'Bruderstamm' movement was a decisive blow to the views of the philo-Polish party at the Russian Court; and as such, the agreement though in a military sense little more important than a salve, amply accomplished its purpose. It was not positively demanded by the military situation, with which the Russian troops were strong enough to cope."..... The convention said 'checkmate' in the game which anti-Polish monarchism was then playing against

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1. Bismark, Reminiscences,I,335-336.

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"While public opinion with us was busy with the Polish question, and the Alvensleben Convention aroused the unintelligent indignation of the Liberals in the Diet, Herr Hinzpeter was introduced to me at a gathering at the Crown Prince's. As he was in daily communication with the royalites and gave himself out to me as a man of conservative opinion, I ventured upon a conversation with him, in which I set forth my views of the Polish question, in the expectation that he would now and again find opportunity of giving expression to them. Some days later he wrote me that the Crown Princess had asked to know the subject of our long conversation. He had recounted it all to her and had then reduced it to writing. He sent me the memorandum with the request that I would examine it, and make any needful corrections. I answered that with this request I could not comply..... I was not at present prepared to go beyond word of mouth."[1]

From the early years of the nineteenth century Prussia's relations with the Vatican had from time to time threatened the peace of the Kingdom, and in preparation for the reopening of the religious question a Catholic political party known as the Ultramontane was built up.[2] The official definition of ultramontanism as given by Bismark some years later declared it to be purely political in character:

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1. Bismark, Reminiscences, I, 341-344.
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'the spirit of a sect with exclusively worldly aims, namely the restoration, as far as possible, of Universal Empire on a medieval theocratic basis'. "It does not recognize the claims of patriotism, and it considers the end to justify the means."[1]

As early as 1846 its activities had grown so subversive to the interests of the State that its most farseeing and patriotic supporters began to fall away. Among them was Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst[2] later chancellor of the empire. Of this party Hohenlohe, although a devout Catholic, wrote in his Diary in May 1846:

"The abyss towards which I was being carried by the policy of the Jesuits has suddenly been revealed to me. Their intolerance, their hatred of Protestantism, which is one of their leading features, their idea that the Reformation and all its consequences was a mistake, that the great philosophical, literary and other splendid monuments of our history were only aberrations of the human intellect, is an absurdity."[3]

Less than ten years later Austria, the great Catholic State of the Confederation was dominated by the Jesuits and the police. General von Gerlach wrote to Bismark in October 1854:

'The Emperor is in the hands of his police...He has stifled his conscience therewith, and what the police cannot compass is achieved by Ultramontanism and rage, against the Orthodox Church and Protestant Prussia.'[4]

On accepting the regency in 1858 Prince William issued a warning to them in his speech to the Prussian diet: "If religion should be used to cloak political activities, it would be severely dealt with."[5] As a result of these activities the attitude of William as King toward the Poles changed; the German

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1. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 184-185, October 12, 1870.
2. Memoirs, Hohenlohe, I,30.
3. Hohenlohe, I, 30-31.
4. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 113-114.
5. G.B. Smith, 39.

Progressives had joined the Catholics and the Poles.[1]

Then the first Roman Curiate bombshell exploded, the Papal Encyclical, Quanta Cura, of December 8, 1864 and the Syllabus of Pius IX, whom Count Arnim in a conversation with Hohenlohe at Munich in 1872 called 'a monstrosity'.[2] It announced the supremacy of the Church over the State and reviewed what the Orthodox were to believe and practice.[3]

> "The Church has her rights from Heaven and these make her independent of human laws. No State must therefore presume to limit the powers of the Church. The priest must not ask permission of any State official - he needs not the assent of any civil authority. The Church is justified in using force where her pretensions are denied. Priests are not subject to the State - they must not be called to do military service. The laws of a country cannot be regarded as more important than those sanctioned by the Pope. No State may in any way interfere with the utterances of the Catholic priesthood. Public schools shall be under the control of the priests and, indeed, higher education should not be permitted unless in harmony with papal doctrine. There should be no separation of Church and State. The State has no right to grant a divorce and no marriage is valid unless performed by a priest - the civil power has no right to declare a marriage valid. The Roman Catholic faith should be made the State religion everywhere to the exclusion of every other. It is wrong for Catholic States to permit Protestants to exercise their faith; the alleged tolerance enables heretics to openly discuss religion and thus to disturb the minds of Catholics; the result of such tolerance is to corrupt the spirit and finally produce indifference."[4]

This declaration roused such violent opposition that Austria, France, Portugal and Italy forbade its publication.[5] In Germany it was not well received; all classes of people discussed it pro and con wondering where it would lead to.[6] Among the clergy there was much displeasure at the uncompromising tone.[7] In

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1. Poliakov,137. 2. Hohenlohe,II,72. 3. Bigelow,162-163.
4. Bigelow,162-163. 5. Bigelow,153. 6. Hohenlohe,I,38.
7. Bigelow,164.

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1. Bolshoy,IV. 2. Morsolone,II,VE. 3. Bilsolo,IXE-IXE.
4. Bilsolo,IXE-IXE. 5. Bilsolo,IXE. 6. Monsofolo,IXE.
7. Bilsolo,IXE.

Russia it called forth persecution and a conference between Bismark and Gortchakoff, and on December 20 Bismark wrote Czar Alexander II approving the measures he had taken against the Catholics.[1] In Posen it was accepted with all its implications and consequences.[2]

In 1865 Bismark began his preparations for a Kulturkampf; he asked Baron von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz, if he would accept the archbishopric of Posen. Bismark's intention seems to have been the same as it was about five years later when he repeated the offer; he wished to allay the fears of the German Catholics by giving a wholly Polish complexion to the conflict. Ketteler refused both offers, giving as his excuse, his ignorance of Polish,[3] but the real reason seems to have been that, as an important figure in the Catholic party, he was definitely committed to a policy of opposition to the Government. After 1870 Ketteler, Savigny,[4] and Mallinckroat reorganized the party as the 'Centrum'.[5] In April the sees of Cologne and Posen were filled, and William I on receiving the oath of allegiance from the new incumbents expressed his satisfaction with Prussia's relations with Rome. The Catholics, still a valuable support of conservatism, had voted with the Government party in its trying times, and for that the King was grateful. They had not yet had cause to show their opposition to Prussia's imperialistic designs. But following the expulsion of Austria the air grew

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1. Lutosanski, I,698-699.
2. Fisher and Brooks, 32.
3. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 136; Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 140-1.
4. Simon, I, 217-218 Savigny was hostile to Bismark because he had not received the chancellorship although from the point of view of length of service, he had, perhaps, more right to it than Bismark.
5. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 136; Krueger, 217; Whitman, 15.

thick with mutual suspicion. The Catholics feared a tyranny of Protestantism, and the Liberals, Unitary party and Bismark suspected the pro-Austrian and anti-unity sympathies of the Catholics.[1] As yet there was only suspicion and Prussia watched for Austria's next move.

Meanwhile Bismark attempted to win the friendship of Austria, but Count Beust would have none of him. Instead, in January 1867 he sent Prince Metternich to Paris to arrange a triple alliance of France, Austria and Italy. He then suggested that the Paris treaty of 1856 was no longer satisfactory. When these negotiations failed, Beust turned to Posen[2] which was still smarting from the treatment it had received from the North German Confederation. In August Prussia had presented to twenty-one German States a draft of a constitution based upon the principles enunciated in Frederick William's Proclamation of March 18, 1848, the constitutions of the Frankfort parliament and the Erfurt parliament, and the Memorandum of Prussia presented in 1863 to the Frankfort Assembly of Princes,[3] Posen was again to be included as a province. The Polish deputies in the Chamber had protested on September 11, and six days later those in the Herrenhaus had also filed their protest, but the Prussian Government had ignored them.[4]

During the election campaign for the new confederate parliament, the Polish politicians supported by the clergy and Austrian sympathizers carried on energetic agitation to secure

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1. Simon,I,204. 2. Busch,Our Chancellor,II,395.
3. Kruegar,19-20. 4.Lutosanski,708.

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1. Gloss, I,204. 2. Beust, Der Dreibund, II,230.
3. Bruegge, 19-20. 4. Lutosawski, 108.

the election of the sturdiest anti-Prussian Poles in Posen. Religion and nationality were combined, and according to Bismark, the fear of the future of Catholicism in Posen not "yearning for a Polish restoration", had dictated their choice of deputies. To prove it he quoted from the speeches of certain priests, one of whom he mentioned by name.

> 'The elections are at hand; we must pull together, or we shall be forbidden to speak Polish, to sleep in Polish, to pray, sing, and weep in Polish; even to preach a sermon in Polish. Our children will be turned into Germans, and then Germany will treat us as Russia does; that is, we shall be hanged for calling ourselves Poles'.

Other priests were said to have spoken in a similar vein, and at the conclusion of such discourses "the beadles, standing by the Church doors, distributed voting tickets to the panic stricken electors".[1] The peasants of one village were reported to have told their landlord that the salvation of their souls depended upon their voting for an anti-Government provost.[2]

On February 12, 1867 the new confederate parliament was elected, met, and within six weeks adopted the new constitution with a few changes, on April 16 to be effective on July 1. The North German Confederation had for executive president, the King of Prussia assisted by a Federal Council of representatives appointed by the States.[3] Bismark was made President of the Council in addition to the Prussian offices he still held. Legislation was to be passed by the Federal Council and the Reichstag.[4]

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1. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 154-5. 2. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 155-156.
3. Krueger, 20. 4. M. Smith, 39.

During the discussion of the constitution the Polish deputies, "a group of exceedingly stiff-necked opponents of the Government"[1] led by Libelt and Kantak opened fire on March 18 protesting against the absorption of Posen.[2] Bismark replied that they represented Catholicism more than Polish nationalism.

> 'You are not justified in speaking in the name of the three million people inhabiting these Provinces. You may be justified in speaking on behalf of the Catholics; but not on behalf of the Poles; that is to say, you are not justified in representing the nationality of the persons who have voted for you in the fear that their faith - the holiest thing they carry in their hearts - may be interfered with; a fear which had been awakened by disingenuous and lying representation'.[3]

Later in the year he made occasion to speak of the necessity of Posen to Prussia, of the rights of Prussia to Posen, and of the benefits the Poles had received from Prussia.

> 'I do not consider that German rule over disaffected nations - I will not say rule, but co-existence in the relations of every day life of Germans with disaffected aliens - it is desirable; but sometimes it is necessary.'[4]

> 'As far as the Grand Duchy of Posen is concerned, we acquired that province.....by hard fighting. We wrested it a second time from an enemy superior to us in strength; and our conquest was sanctioned to us by international treaties.
> We have the same right to Posen that we have to Silesia..... the previous speaker called the partition of Poland a crime. It was no greater malefaction than the partition of Russia in the fourteenth century, which you Poles effected when you were strong enough to do so.....

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1. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 154.
2. Lutosanski, I, 708; Trampe, II, Libelt's protest, 221-224; Kantak's 224-227, 251.
3. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 156-157.
4. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 146.

'The participation of the Germans in the mutilation of Poland was a necessary compliance with the law of self-preservation. Before the first partition, Berlin was barely three days' march from the Slavonic western frontier....Frederick the Great by securing possession of West Prussia, then inhabited by a large number of German colonists, connected it solidly with Pomerania and Brandenburg..... Whoever wishes to see that arrangement revoked also desires to hand over the mouth of the Vistula, Elbing, Thorn and Danzig - aye, the whole of East Prussia, which in that case would be untenable - to the heirs of Peter the Great, or to a patrician Republic of the most miserable description, having the Jesuits for its steadfast allies..[1] ....meanwhile the Germanizing of the province has made satisfactory progress; by which we do not only mean the dissemination of the German language, but that of German morality and culture, and the upright administration of justice, elevation of the peasant class and the prosperity of the towns..... Railways and good roads have increased the general well-being of the province. Schools organized after the German pattern impart elementary instruction to Polish children; gymnasia teach the higher sciences, not by the hollow mechanical methods of the Jesuit Fathers, but in that solid German way which enables people to think for themselves. Army service completes whatever is left unachieved by the popular schools..... .....he '(the soldier)' adopts clean and orderly habits and for the most part, retains them. When he loses them.....it is generally because the

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1. Busch,II,147-148.

The participation of the Germans in the mutilation of Poland was a momentary compliance with the law of self-preservation. Before the final partition Berlin was barely issue orders' across from the Oderwein western frontier....Prudently the Crown by assuming possession of West Prussia, then inhabited by a large number of German colonists, connected it with Pomerania and Brandenburg..... Whoever wishes to see that arrangement revoked also desires to hand over the south of East Prussia, Vistula, Viking, Thorn and Danzig - nye, the whole of West Prussia, which in that case would be untenable - to the heirs of Peter the Great, or to a Russian Republic of the most miserable description, having the Danube for its eastern altar.... ....meanwhile the German living of the provinces has made satisfactory progress; by which we do not only mean the dissemination of the German language, but that of German morality and culture, the upright administration of justice, elevation of the peasant class and the prosperity of the towns..... Railways and good roads have increased the general well-being of the provinces. Schools organized after the German pattern impart elementary instruction in Polish dialects; gymnasia teach the higher sciences, not by the hollow mechanical methods of the Jesuit fathers, but in that solid German way which enables people to think for themselves. Any service corporations however is left unachieved by the Jesuit schools..... .....the little midhier! adopts class and orderly habits and for the most part relains them. Then he loses them....it is generally because

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3. Tweed, Jr. 147-148.

clergy wish to keep up the old ruinous routine, as a part of the good old Polish patriotism; ignorance and helplessness being, in the opinion of these persons, excellent servants of the Church.[1]

'The Polish language is free, and frequently predominant, in the market-place, drawing-room, school and church. In the two latter, until very lately, German was even at a disadvantage because the Catholic clergy strove against it with all their might, and very successfully.....Polish is taught in all the Catholic schools of the mixed districts, and in the four lower classes of the higher educational institutions of all confessions as well as in all the provincial schools. The Polish Catholic service is performed in Latin and Polish, to which tongues stray Germans must conform in Church. The municipal discussions in the smaller towns are carried on in Polish; both languages have equal play at the elections. With respect to legal proceedings, the laws are translated into Polish with the German text, which is, of course, appealed to whenever difficulties accrue. The tribunals correspond with one another and other authorities in German. In trials, the plaintiff's idiom is adopted; if he be acquainted with both languages or neither, the case is tried in German. Interpreters are sworn to assist the Court. Mayors of small towns and clergymen are allowed to correspond with the authorities in Polish if they do not understand German. Private persons, now known to be familiar with German, receive German official communications

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1. Busch,II,150-151.

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1. Bunsen, iii,320-321.

accompanied by Polish translations.[1]

'The Poles cannot really ask for more than this, and their deputies and press organs in Posen, instead of perpetually grumbling, should look about them, and gratefully acknowledge all that has been done for their country and its population under the Prussian regime.....Since 1815 the Government has increased the number of schools fifteenfold and of teachers seventeenfold in the predominantly Polish and Catholic districts of the Province. There are eight gymnasia instead of two; three Catholic seminaries, five Realschule, four pro-gymnasia, an agricultural school, a deaf and dumb asylum, a madhouse, and a school for gardners have been founded. Through its wealth of elementary schools Posen occupies an extremely honorable position amongst the eastern provinces of the Prussian monarchy. Great things have been done for it by the Government in the way of constructing railways. For twenty years past the province has possessed a comprehensive system of lines, traversing it from north to south and east to west.....[2]

'I can proudly say.....that the portion of the whilom Polish Republic now under Prussian rule enjoys a degree of well-being, loyal security, and popular attachment to the government such as never existed, nor was ever even dreamed of within the limits of the Polish Republic since the commencement of Polish history..... The peasant has invariably taken up arms to resist every attempt to resuscitate conditions of existence of which he

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1. Busch,II,152-153. 2. Busch,II,153-154; But Bismark neglected to say that those railway lines were primarily for military purposes and would have been built anyway. Dyboski,53-54.

had heard his parents talk.....'[1]

That the Poles did appreciate what Prussia had done for their country is certified by Roman Dyboski:

> "The Poles under Prussia, contrary to their compatriots under Russia acquired a strong sense of the authority of the State, the vigor of the laws and the accurate and correct, if occasionally ruthless, working of a well-ordered administrative machinery. Something of the German's discipline and thoroughness entered into their own mental composition. Armed by such partial assimilation to their oppressors, the Poles of Prussian Poland also thereby became qualified to reap the full benefits of such material.....improvements as went with Prussian rule."[2]

The effect of Prussian discipline began to show during the Kulturkampf when allied with the Centrists under that militant organizer, Dr. Windhorst, they bitterly fought Bismark.

Bismark's long and tedious orations did not help to clear up a situation that was constantly becoming more difficult of solution. The Catholics in the Prussian and Federal Diets now voted with or against the Government as the measure under consideration was believed to be favorable to the Church or not.[3] Then Bismark put the preservation of peace between Berlin and Rome up to the Curia and the Pope. In a letter to Count Arnim at Rome on October 30, 1867 he said:

> "The Catholic inhabitants of Germany...have the same rights as the Protestant inhabitants that their religious convictions should be considered. For this reason a State with a mixed population must not act towards the Head of the Catholic Church in a manner offensive to the faithful. But in order to take a definitive position, it is, above all, necessary to be certain that the Papacy will maintain a situation recognized by the majority of the Catholics of German nationality'.[4]

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1. Busch, II, 154-155.
2. Dyboski, 50-51.
3. Simon, I, 205.
4. Simon, I, 212.

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> "The Catholic inhabitants of Germany...have the same rights as the Protestant inhabitants that their religious convictions should be considered. For this reason a State with a mixed population must not set towards the Head of the Catholic Church in a manner offensive to the faithful. Due in order to take a definitive position, it is, above all, necessary to be certain that the Papacy will maintain a situation recognized by the majority of the Catholics of German nationality."[3]

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1. Busch, II, 122-123. 2. Dyboski, 55-56.
3. Simon, I, 309. 4. Stern, I, 212.

In November at the opening of the Prussian Diet King William confined his remarks to the statement that his efforts would be directed toward maintaining the dignity and independence of the Pope,[1] and there the matter rested until the events of 1869-1871 ushered in the Kulturkampf.

The Russian Czar was not at all pleased with the form the Confederation had taken, but a threat from Bismark to proclaim the constitution of 1849 and support a German revolution which might spread to Poland was enough to silence Alexander.[2] The threat, however, was just another of those bluffs Bismark delighted to indulge in to frighten into silence, if not acquiescence, any opponents of his plans, as the measures which followed proved.

In spite of constitutional guarantees, the Polish press was subjected to ever increasing restrictions.[3] By Order of the Minister of Education dated October 26, 1869 German was to be the medium of instruction in the fourth class of the classical schools. Such limitations did not go unprotested. In December Kantak demanded an explanation, which like all official explanations was unsatisfactory, and the following year he again protested.[4] The Government answered by laws of exception; Polish representation in all councils, boards, commissions and assemblies was limited. In the Herrenhaus the Poles were permitted but seven or eight members who formed a parliamentary club under the leadership of Prince Ferdinand Radziwill. In the Landtag, of the four hundred and forty-three members, the

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1. Simon,I,212. 2. Headlam,283. 3. Busch,Secret Pages,I,263. 4. Trampe,II,230-231.

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1. Hansen, I, 217. 2. Headlam, 283. 3. Busch, Secret Pages, 2.
4. Kranz, II, 300-301.

Poles had twelve seats. These men also formed a club or Kolo.[1] In the Reichstag they had seventeen or eighteen seats which they increased to twenty-one in 1871. Aside from these public activities, they fostered agriculture and helped the Jackowski societies to repurchase Polish estates.[2]

In the sphere of local government the Poles were also handicapped. In many small towns they had no official positions; on the Municipal Council of the city of Posen were more Germans than Poles, although the population was two-thirds Polish. The electoral districts for the election of deputies to both the Provincial and Prussian Assemblies were arranged to restrict Polish representation as much as possible, and are suggestive of the American gerrymander. Eight of the forty-eight members in the Provincial Assembly were Poles, and on the Executive Council but two of the nine members were Polish; this, in spite of the fact that 61% of the population of the province was Polish.[3]

During these years of growing restraint, political issues changed, and with them the political parties. About 1866 the Poles had lost liberal and socialist support, the former dropped the Poles because as Germans they had become nationalist unionists[4] and the Poles as an alien group hindered the realization of their dream. This tended to make the Poles more nationalist and less amenable to socialist doctrine, hence that party turned its back on them.[5] To save themselves from political extinction and to make effective their opposition to the Government, the Poles al-

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1. Poliakov,note,p.130. 2. Krueger,opposite 49; Eversley,305; ref.p.64. 3. Dawson,Municipal Life and Government,75; Eversley,305. 4. Fuess,Carl Schurz,141; Bigelow,179.
5. Poliakov,137.

lied with the Centrists and became the most turbulent in the party. In 1869 the religious issue began to overshadow all others and attention became riveted on the conference of Catholic bishops about to meet in Rome for a discussion of the Syllabus of 1864 and new regulations for the governance of the faithful. Count Arnim expressed the opinion that Prussia should have a representative at the Council, in view of the large number of Catholics in the kingdom, but Bismark refused saying that the Church was free in ecclesiastical matters, but issued a warning that any attempt by the Church to interfere in civil matters would be resented.[1] The Prussian Government seems to have hoped that the minority opposition to the Syllabus in '64 would become the majority sentiment leading to a break with Rome and the establishment of a German Catholic Church under the State.[2]

Although the minority grew larger, it was insufficient to complete the break and its leaders feared that such a step would lead to more radical measures by the Church and a breach that could not be bridged might result, an effect that would do Germany more harm than good.[3]

That something momentous was about to take place, something that might affect the sovereignty of the Catholic States, at least, seems to have been realized. Ignaze von Doellinger, professor of ecclesiastical history and canon law at the University of Munich wrote to Hohenlohe, president of the Bavarian Ministry, advising that a circular letter be sent to the Bavarian ministers abroad stating that country's position on the Church question and

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1. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 135. 2. Simon, I, 207.
3. Hohenlohe, II, 49, 50 Speech in the Reichstag April 1871.

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1. Bunsen, Our Chancellor, II, 156. 2. Simon, I, 209.
2. Kohnlein, II, 49. Speech in the Reichstag April 1871.

suggesting the cooperation of the other Catholic States. On April 9, 1869, the following circular letter was sent, giving an accurate picture of what might be expected from Rome.

"It may now be assumed with certainty that the General Council summoned by his Holiness Pope Pius IX will, if no unforseen circumstances intervene, actually meet in December. Undoubtedly it will be attended by a larger number of Bishops from all parts of the world....and will, therefore, make a corresponding claim upon the public opinion of the Catholic world.....The only matter of dogma which, as I learn from a trustworthy source, might come up for decision at Rome.....and for which the Jesuits in Italy, as well as in Germany, and elsewhere, are agitating, is the question of the infallibility of the Pope. But this goes far beyond the domain of purely religious questions and has a highly political character, because the power of the Papacy over all princes and peoples, even those in schism from Rome, would thereby be defined in secular affairs; and elevated into an article of faith.

"Now this question, highly important and pregnant with results as it is, is pre-eminently of a nature to draw the attention of all Governments having Catholic subjects...., but their anxiety, must needs be still further heightened, when they see the preliminaries already in preparation and the composition of the committees at Rome to carry out these. Among these committees is one in particular whose sole business is to concern itself with poltico-ecclesiastic matters. So

suggesting the cooperation of the other Catholic States. On April 5, 1929, the following circular letter was sent, giving an accurate picture of what might be expected from Rome.

"It may now be assumed with certainty that the General Council summoned by his Holiness Pope Pius XI will, if an unfavorable circumstance intervene, actually meet in December. Doubtedly it will be attended by a larger number of Bishops from all parts of the world....and will, therefore, make a corresponding claim upon the public opinion of the Catholic world.....The only matter of doubt which, as I learn from a trustworthy source, might come up for decision at Rome.....and for which the results in Italy, as well as in Germany, and elsewhere, are awaiting, is the question of the infallibility of the Pope. But this goes far beyond the domain of purely religious questions and has a highly political character, because the power of the Papacy over all prince and peoples, even those in which from Rome, would thereby be defined in secular affairs: and elevated into an article of faith.

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it is beyond a doubt the deliberate intention of the Roman Curia that the Council shall lay down, at any rate, some decisions on politico-ecclesiatic matters, or questions of a mixed nature. To this may be added that the journal edited by the Roman Jesuits, the Civilta Cattolica, to which Pope Pius, by a personal brief, has given the weight of a semi-official organ of the Roman Curia, has quite lately indicated as a duty assigned to the council to transform the damnatory judgments of the Papal Syllabus of December 8, 1864, into positive decisions or decrees of the Council. Now, as those articles of the Syllabus are directed against several important axioms of State organization...Governments are confronted with the serious question whether and in what form they would have to advise either the Bishops subject to their authority, or at a later stage, the Council itself, of the perilous consequences to which such a deliberate and fundamental disturbance of the relations of Church and State must inevitably lead... It seems to me absolutely necessary for the Governments interested to endeavor to arrive at some mutual understanding on this very serious matter."[1]

By May Doellinger's suspicions were verified, and he wrote to Hohenlohe what he considered the consequences would be: that the Syllabus would become 'An article of faith invested with infallible authority'; that the Pope alone would have the power to decide the boundary line between Church and State; that he

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1. Hohenlohe, I, 326-328.

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1. Schmidlin, I, 366-368.

would pass judgments on many subjects that would bind his successors to eternity; that the 'immunity of the clergy' would become 'dogma'; and that all clergymen would be free from civil jurisdiction unless some arrangement was made such as in the 'Austrian concordat'. Last and perhaps most important it would become the duty of Catholic subjects to set aside a legitimate ruler if he were Protestant, and choose a Catholic monarch.[1]

The body of ecclesiasts who were responsible for the advancement of such reactionary doctrine were the Jesuits who held the somewhat unbalanced Pope in their power. On the comedy that was being enacted behind the scenes at Rome Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe wrote to Prince Chlodwig in September 1869:

> "The Jesuits are now reviving the great comedy in which they appear before the public as divided into two parties. Au fond they are one, and are governed by a central control. Before the public, then, there exists two parties.... One shouts joyously for the infallibility of the Pope....in order to capture Pius IX, and provokes all good Catholics who are not inclined to the Jesuits to speak against infallibility, and so estrange them from the Pope, who is thus compelled to choose the gentlemen of the Civilta to be his bodyguard. The other set...shake their heads gravely....with an air of old experienced people who regard Pius IX as a light headed youth. These hold the door open, either for the next pontificate, or, indeed, for the Episcopate...And as soon as there comes a change of wind here, the Jesuits will be the first to be shocked at the Civilta....They will make merry at his expense.
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> "....The Pope is charmed with the idea" (of infallibility)..."Touched by their devotion, he throws himself into the arms of the Civilta and in his blindness, embraces the whole Order.....
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> "The good fathers know that they can keep a firm hold on Pius IX only if he is driven into a corner and must fly to them for help.....so they are always egging him on against all the Governments in order that, embroiled everywhere, he may never more come upon a green thing....."[2]

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1. Hohenlohe, I, 332-334.
2. Hohenlohe, I,364-366, September 15, 1869.

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1. Hohenlohe, I, 328-334. 2. Hohenlohe, I, 329-330, September 14, 1889.

The Church Council met as scheduled, and the German newspapers by March 1870 were urging Bismark to support the opposition of the German bishops to the proposals of the Jesuits. Bismark again refused and instructed Dr. Busch to prepare a news article asking the editors if they had a clear idea of how to do it, and added:

> "Prussia will not desert those Bishops who do not submit themselves to the yoke, but it is for the Prelates in the first place to maintain a determined attitude. We cannot take preventive measures as they would be of no value, but it is open for us to adopt a repressive policy in case a decision is come to in opposition to our wishes. If, after that decision has been arrived at, it shall prove to be incompatible with the mission and the interests of the State, then existing legislation, if found inadequate, can be supplemented and altered....."[1]

Following these instructions the Chancellor made a remark which may have meant much or little. One wonders whether he was thinking of a conflict with the Church, the Poles, or the Liberals, or with all of them.

> "Moreover the course which I now indicate will in any case be ultimately successful, though success may not at once be completely achieved."[2]

Two months later in his instructions to Busch he quite definitely made known his unfriendly feeling for the Poles. Dr. Busch was to prepare an article for the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, in which among other sentiments it was to express, were to be the words: 'We must deal with the Poles as with enemies'.[3]

On July 18 the second Curiate bombshell exploded, the Doctrine of Infallibility and the Vatican Decrees. War had been declared. The nine articles of the Syllabus of 1864 became law as Doellinger had prophesied. This decision did not have the

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1. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 15, March 21, 1870.
2. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 15.
3. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 25, May 21, 1870.

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1. Brach, Secret Pages, I, 15, March 21, 1870.
2. Brach, Secret Pages, I, 15.
3. Brach, Secret Pages, I, 35, May 21, 1870.

support of the majority of the Catholic world; it was foisted on it by the Jesuits and the clergy dependent upon the Pope for advancement as an analysis of the vote proves. Of the 362 bishops at the Council, 170 of the 172 who voted for the Decrees were Italian; of these, 143 were from the Papal States, and all but 43 of them were dependent upon the Pope for preferment. The German bishops belonged to the opposition, but a majority of them accepted the Decrees after they were passed.[1] Those holding ecclesiastical positions who refused to subscribe to them, were excommunicated, and deprived of their benefices.[2] Among the excommunicated ecclesiasts and university men were the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Ermeland, and a bishop of East Prussia, Professor Doellinger, and four professors of the University of Bonn.[3] These gentlemen and others became known as Alt Katolische.[4] Such measures could not go unheeded by the Governments. Bavaria appealed to the Confederate Parliament which added a 'pulpit paragraph to the Penal Code forbidding priests to interfere in political or civil matters.[5] In Prussia the King announced that in the future all teachers, ecclesiastical and secular must swear allegiance to the State, must accept and be subject to the law of the land, and must decide which master to serve, the State or the Church;[6] and since the excommunications had been an indirect attack upon the freedom of religion guaranteed in the constitution the Government warned the bishops not to abuse the power of excommunication.[7] The

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1. Bigelow, 156; Krueger,217.
2. Robertson, 322,323; Whitman,15.
3. Robertson,321 Doellinger 'as a Christian, as a Theologian, as an Historian and as a citizen' had refused to accept the Council's decision. 322; Whitman, 15.
4. G.B. Smith,205; Bigelow,160.
5. Robertson,322; G.B.Smith,223-225; Krueger, 217 Religious Orders were forbidden to teach.
6. Bigelow, 153.
7. Robertson,323.

support of the majority of the Catholic world; it was felicitous in by the Jesuits and the clergy dependent upon the Pope for advancement as an analysis of the vote proves. Of the 322 delegates at the Council, 170 of the 185 who voted for the Decrees were Italian; of these, 123 were from the papal States, and all but 42 of them were dependent upon the Pope for preferment. The Gallican clergy belonged to the opposition, but a majority of them accepted the Decrees after they were passed.[1] Those holding ecclesiastical positions who refused to subscribe to them, were excommunicated, and deprived of their benefices.[2] Among the excommunicated ecclesiastics and ultramontanes were the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Breslau, and a bishop of East Prussia, Professor Doellinger, and four professors of the University of Bonn.[3] These gentlemen and others became known as Alt Katholiken.[4] Such measures could not go unheeded by the Governments. Bavaria appealed to the Confederate Parliament which added a 'polite paragraph to the Penal Code forbidding priests to interfere in political or civil matters.[5] In Prussia the King announced that in the future all teachers, ecclesiastical and secular must swear allegiance to the State, must accept and be subject to the law of the land, and must decide which master to serve, the State or the Church;[6] and since the excommunications had been an indirect attack upon the freedom of religion guaranteed in the constitution the Government warned the bishops not to abuse the power of excommunication.[7] The

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1. Bigelow, 100; Irwager, 217. 2. Robertson, 382, 383; Mackenzie, 3. Robertson, 321 Doellinger. 4. G.B. Smith, 809; E Golow, 107. ing a Christian, as a Theo- 5. Robertson, 328; C.B. Smith, 809. Logian, as an Historian and as Kreager, 217 Mackenzie, a citizen' had refused to ac- some forbidden to teach, ept the Council's decision. 6. Bigelow, 109. 383; Mackenzie, 7. Robertson, 383.

Government also undertook to reinstate or maintain in their positions those instructors who had refused to accept the Vatican Decrees, and in some instances forced the pupils against the will of their parents to listen to such instruction.[1]

The situation grew more complicated when the news reached Bismark at Versailles on September 26 that the Italians had entered Rome.[2] The next day he told R. Busch that the Pope

> 'must remain a Sovereign. The only question is how? It would be possible to do more for him if the Ultramontanes were not so much opposed to us everywhere...'[4]

In November Archbishop Ledochowski of Posen arrived at Versailles with a commission from the Pope to sound Bismark and the royal family on a transference of the Pope's residence to some town in Germany. Dr. Busch in his diary stated that he arrived about 12;30 and did not leave until after three when he went to see the King and then had dinner with the Crown Prince.[4] Of the King's conversation Hohenlohe wrote in his diary about two weeks after the event that the King had said:

> "....that as a Protestant King he could not take the lead in a protest, but if the Catholic Powers did so, Prussia would consider whether she should join in this step...."[5]

On the day that the Archbishop visited Bismark he received another visitor, Hatzfeld, who also took up the question of the Pope's position. He said that the Italiams would not like to see him leave Rome. Bismark suggested that he might be forced

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1. Busch, II, Our Chancellor, 134; Simon, I, 2 18-219 In some case the Gov't forced the bishops to revoke decrees of excommunication, and when the Episcopacy protested the Gov't returned to the policy of the later years of Frederick William IV's reign, - the recalcitrants were treated as rebels and criminals; Robertson, 329-330.
2. Busch, Secret Pages,I,160-161.
3. Krueger, 217.
4. Busch, Secret Pages,I,218-219.
5. Hohenlohe,II,27.

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1. Busch, III, Our Chancellor, 1441; 2. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 200-
Simon, I, 2 18-219 in some 3. Kranger, 227.
cases the Pope's forces the Bish- 4. Busch, Secret Pages, I, 221-
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to leave and in that case where could he go? The Pope could not go to France because of the republican revolution, nor to Austria, nor Spain. After seeming to reflect, he said that there remained only Belgium or North Germany.

> 'As a matter of fact he has already asked..... I have no objection to it..... ..... it would be very useful to us to be recognized by Catholics as what we really are, that is to say, the sole power now existing that is capable of protecting the head of their Church.....We should have the Poles on our side. The opposition of the Ultramontanes would cease in Belgium and Bavaria.....But the King will not consent. He is terribly afraid. He thinks all Prussia would be perverted and he himself obliged to become a Catholic. I told him, however, that if the Pope begged asylum, he could not refuse it..... as a ruler of some ten million Catholic subjects..'[1]

Of the Archbishop's visit Bismark wrote:[2]

> "While at Versailles, I had from November 5 to 9 carried on negotiations with Count Ledochowski.... mainly referring to the territorial interests of the Pope. In accordance with the proverb, 'Die eine Hand waescht die andere' I proposed reciprocity in the relations between the Pope and ourselves should be effected by bringing Papal influence to bear on the French clergy in the interests of peace. Ledochowski .....tried to induce several members of the higher clergy to exercise their influence in the direction indicated, but could only report that their advances had been coldly met and declined....."

In view of the failure of the Archbishop's negotiations for Bismark, and the unwillingness of the King to take any active steps to aid the Pope, the disgruntled Catholic party reorganized itself as the 'Centrum' and its leaders added more planks to the party platform which now proposed the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope, the independence or supremacy of the Church, denied the validity of the treaties creating the Empire, and demanded a more truly federal state and greater freeedom for

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1. Busch,Secret Pages,I,220-221.
2. Simon,I,211-212.

the States within the Empire.[1]

The November general election brought victory to the party in the Prussian House and in the Reichstag, so that with the Polish vote the Centrists had fifty-nine seats in the former and seventy-nine in the latter.[2] This victory was made the easier when the Emperor made an announcement concerning the character of the new Empire, thus adding fuel to Catholic opposition.

> 'The German Empire of 1870 must not resemble the ancient Empire in any respect, the latter was a rival but also a prop of the Papacy; the new Empire must be like its chief, absolutely Protestant'.[3]

At the opening of parliament the Emperor had more to say on the same subject. He declared that he would respect the independence of other States in all matters of domestic concern. The Protestants were not satisfied with a mere hands off policy; they declared that they would assist any foreign State against any third State that interfered with such domestic affairs.[4] This was a staggering blow to the Catholic party, but they rallied and vigorously opposed the imperial measures for the legislative and administrative unity of the Empire. This seems to have decided Bismark to adopt a policy known as the Kulturkampf.[5]

Such is not the reason Bismark gave for the cause of the conflict. In a speech in January 1886 he said that it was not the Italian question but the Polish problem that convinced him of its necessity.[6] Dr. Busch, his closest subordinate for years, is also of the opinion that the Polish question was the cause,[7] but some writers declare the Polish side of the struggle was an

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1. Robertson,326; ref. p.76 2. Krueger,217; Robertson,325.
3. Simon,I,210-211. 4. Simon,I,213-214. 5.Robertson,326.
6. Bismark, Reminiscences,II,138. 7. Busch,Our Chancellor,II, 143.

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The Governor General elections brought victory to the party in the Prussian Diet and in the Reichstag, so that with the Polish vote the Centrists had fifty-nine seats in the Center and seventy-nine in the Left.[2] This victory was made the easier when the Kaiser made an announcement concerning the character of the new Empire, thus adding fuel to Catholic opposition.

'The German Empire of 1870 must not resemble the ancient Empire in any respect. The latter was a rival but also a prop of the Papacy; the new Empire must be like the other, exclusively Protestant.'[3]

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1. Hopkins, Rept. Ency. 2. Sanger, 217; Schorstedt, 286.
3. Sohm, I, 210-212. 4. Sims, 1, 297-216. 5. Robertson, 224.
6. Bismark, Reminiscences, 1, 184. 7. Wash, Our Chancellor, 1, 144.

afterthought,[1] and others that it was an additional cause.[2] If Bismark's speeches are any criterion, they, certainly, lay most stress on the Church-State struggle as is especially emphasized in his speech in the Upper House in 1873 on constitutional changes. That the Polish question, if not the cause, was at least an important factor may be judged by Bismark's frequent allusions to the Poles as the enemies of Germany, and by the fact that in the Poles the Government had a united opposition which never wavered whereas among the German Catholics there was disunion.

On March 31, 1871[3] perhaps emboldened by the words of praise received from the Emperor and the generals for Polish bravery during the war with France, Zoltowski, a Polish deputy protested against the inclusion of Posen in the Empire, the following day the Poles made a motion to that effect and requested that Posen receive a status corresponding to that of the Imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine.[4] Such a proposition provoked Bismark's ire and in his usual insulting manner replied:

> 'I dispute your right to appeal to any treaty concerning the exceptional position of individual provinces in the Prussian State for you have always yourselves forborne from carrying out such treaties textually. The very existence of Posen and West Prussia are therefore - according to the Treaties and Proclamations of 1815, the old laws of the land and the constitution repeatedly sworn to by the Polish parliamentary representatives - an integral part of the Prussian monarchy and the German Empire, and whosoever attempts to alter their position in that respect is guilty of high treason'.[5]

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1. Robertson, 329.
2. Headlam, 396; Dyboski, 51.
3. Trampe, II, 231-233.
4. Busch, Our Chancellor, II,165; G.B. Smith, 220; Garlepp, 167.
5. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 165

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1. Gerstenberg, 222.
2. Treitschke, II, 603-605.
3. Sybel, Our Chancellor, II, 322.
4. Rusch, Der Chancellor, II, 322.
5. Bismarck, 396; Lyonski, 22.
6. G.E. Smith, 220; Gerstenberg, 222.

And later in the discussion:

> 'The twenty or so deputies who bear themselves here as though they were an entire people - the Polish people - are not a people; do not represent a people, and have no people at all behind them; indeed they have nothing behind them but illusions and errors, one of which is that they have been elected to Parliament to represent the Polish nationality. I know why they have been elected.....You were elected, gentlemen, to represent the interests of the Catholic Church; and if you do that, whenever those interests shall be called in question, you will fulfil your duty to your electors... but you have received no mandate to represent the Polish people or nationality in this House. Nobody has confided that mission to you - least of all the people of the Grand Duchy of Posen. That population does not believe in the fiction which you promulgage, viz.:- that the Polish rule was a good one, of rather 'not a bad one' as the previous speaker expressed it. With all imaginable impartiality and desire to be just, I can assure you that it was an infamously bad one; and that is why it shall never be revived.....
>
> 'I would therefore request you, gentlemen,..... to refrain from keeping Europe, Prussia and your own province in hot water by continuing to pursue an unattainable object....Unite with the majority of your Polish brethren in Prussia and with the Polish peasantry in particular in the benefits of the civilization offered to you by the Prussian State.....'[1]

By June the Clericals had gained the support of some Democrats like Schroeder-Lippstadt, and Bismark decided upon sterner measures against the Catholics, such as the expulsion of the Kraetzig clique from the Ministry of Public Worship, which

> "Had degenerated into an organ of the Catholic propaganda. The Propaganda College has invariably fostered the Polish language....because any tribe of human beings isolated by the exclusivity of its idiom is much more easily held in thrall by a masterful priesthood..."[2]

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1. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 157-161.
2. Hohenlohe, II, 60 June 14, 1871

Prior to 1870 Prince Boguslaw Radziwill, the younger of the two brothers and a member of the Berlin Common Council had gained a great deal of influence over the Department of Public Worship through Kraetzig, formerly in his employ. Through him the polonizing of the eastern provinces began. It was so successful that within two generations entire villages that had once been registered as German were now known to be Polish. From one census to another in West Prussia, for instance, thirty thousand more Poles than Germans were added to the population.[1] To put it another way, in 1871 there were almost ten thousand fewer German Catholics in the Government District of Posen than had been registered ten years before.[2] Hence the desire to abolish the Department. Bismark was not immediately successful owing to the opposition of the Royal family and the powerful Radziwills. Of his conversations with the King on the subject Bismark wrote:

> "More than once did I explain that this section was worse than a nuncio in Berlin; that it acted in accordance with instructions received from Rome, not always perhaps from the Pope; and that it had lately become open more particularly to Polish influences. I admitted that the ladies in the Radziwill family were friendly to Germany, that the elder brother, William was kept in the same groove by his sense of honor as a Prussian officer, and of his son, Anthony, who was, moreover, bound to his Majesty by ties of personal affection, this was likewise the case. But in the driving element of the family, consisting of the ecclesiastics, Prince Boguslaw and his son, Polish national sentiment was stronger than any other, and was cultivated on the basis that Polish and Romish-Clerical interests were concurrent....Kraetzig.... the head of the Catholic section was as good as a serf of the Rądziwill family.....'[3]

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1. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 138.
2. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 144 and note, Speech of the Minister of Education in the Landtag in 1883.
3. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 139-140.

Prior to 1870 Prince Hohenlohe Radziwill, the younger of the two brothers and a member of the Berlin German Council had gained a great deal of influence over the Department of Public Worship through Friedrich, Duke of Ratibor, in his employ. Through this the poisoning of the Western provinces began. It was so successful that within two generations entire villages that had once been registered as German were now known to be Polish. From one generation to another in West Prussia, for instance, thirty thousand more Poles than Germans were added to the population. To put it another way, in 1871 there were eleven thousand fewer German Catholics in the Government District of Posen than had been registered ten years before. Hence the desire to abolish the Department. Bismarck was not immediately successful owing to the opposition of the Royal family and the powerful Radziwills. Of his conversations with the King on the subject Bismarck wrote:

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1. Bismarck, Gesammelte Reden, II, 1388.
2. Bismarck, Gesammelte Reden, II, 140-142.
3. Bismarck, Gesammelte Reden, II, 1388.
4. Bismarck, Gesammelte Reden, II, 140-142.
5. Simson, Der Charakter, 141 and 1389. Speech of the Minister of Education in the Landtag in 1873.

That the Radziwill palace was the gathering place of the Polish-nationalists Princess Catherine Radziwill admits in her Recollections.

> "The visitors, for the most part were old friends of my father-in-law's, Poles of note.....some..... members of the most exclusive and aristocratic families of Prussia, and the leaders of the Roman Catholic party....."[1]

Following a vote of lack of confidence[2] and a "difference arising from a personal matter....." the Minister of Education Muehler resigned, and the Catholic section was abolished.[3] This act of Bismark's

> "signalized the participation of the Minister-President in the Kulturkampf, thitherto confined to the special Government officers connected with religious worship.."[4]

Meanwhile in October a Civil Marriage Bill had been introduced in the Reichstag, was reported upon by Prince Hohenlohe, who favored it as necessary, debated upon with the Saxons and Poles in opposition to it, and passed. It required the civil ceremony and encouraged mixed marriages.[5]

The event which had resulted in the political downfall of Muehler was a School Inspection bill which he had vainly tried to pass, but opposition of the Liberals was too great. The Government was not, however to be deterred from its purpose. It was reintroduced as the first Government measure of 1872 by the new Minister Falk, who had been appointed in early January

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1. Princess Catherine Radziwill, My Recollections, 35.
2. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 143.
3. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 140-141.
4. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 144
5. Hohenlohe, II, 64,65.

that the Radziwiłł palace was the rendezvous place of the Patriot-nationalists Princess Katarzyna Radziwiłł admits in her Memoirs, saying:

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1. Princess Catharina Radziwiłł, 2. Busch, Our Chancellor, M, Descriptions, 99. 2. 143.
3. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 4. Busch, Our Chancellor, 120-121. II, 144
5. Hohenlohe, II, 84,85.

on the recommendation of Roon, the senior Minister of State and Bismark. It provided for the supervision of all educational institutions, public and private, by State inspectors responsible to no denomination.[1] The introduction of the bill at this particular moment was the result of an accidental visit of Bismark to the Landtag when Dr. Windhorst was complaining of the diminishing number of State positions open to Catholics. Bismark was furious and he delivered an extemporaneous speech which delighted his audience. The reception of the bill was not what had been expected. It was again opposed by the Liberals, Orthodox Protestants as well as Catholics, and Poles. Even in Court circles it received little favor; the Crown Prince was the only supporter of it. But Bismark persisted and by the time it passed on March 11 by a narrow majority, 197-171, he had won over the King.[2] Its fate in the Herrenhaus was dubious until the trial of a young man of Polish descent accused of conspiracy against Bismark brought to light the alliance of the Center with Germany's enemies. The young man had resided with Canon Kozmian, and in searching his quarters, papers were found incriminating Windhorst and Baron Ketteler.[3] In the Upper House Bismark did not mince words and he proved his statements by reading from the correspondence:

> 'The revenge for which people are panting in France is being prepared for them by getting up religious troubles in Germany. It is intended to cripple German unity by denominational discord for which purpose the whole Catholic clergy are to be utilized under the immediate direction from Rome. In connection with the overthrow of German power, the Pope hopes to be able to re-establish his secular power in Italy'.

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1. Whitman, 15; Simon; I, 217-220,222; Krueger, 217; Garlepp, 70.
2. G.B.Smith,229-232.
3. Hohenlohe, II, 72.

The bill passed 125-76.[1]

For the Polish territories special Cabinet Orders were passed. These ordinances of October 26, 1872, November 16, 1872 and April 1, 1873 introduced German as the medium of instruction in the higher schools and for instruction in religion. Religion was still taught in Polish in the lower grades except in preparation for communion and confirmation in districts where there were German bishops. The priest were no longer permitted to go into the schools for instruction in cathecism and religious history; these subjects were henceforth taught by the teachers. The professional and technical schools were put under the supervision of department heads in Berlin, and secondary education was centralized under school boards presided over by the Oberpraesident, who was supervised by the department of education in the Regency.[2]

While the Government was Germanizing the schools many Poles were busily engaged in revolutionary activities. Among the letters found in Kozmian's house were some relating to the petitions which had been pouring into the Reichstag begging for assistance for the Pope. One was from Windhorst to Kozmian; 'Do not send any more petitions to the Reichstag'; another, from Baron Ketteler to Posen conveying the same message in French. The rest of Windhorst's letters revealed a carefully laid plan to bring about intervention in Germany, paralyze the Government and then bring assistance to the Pope.

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1. G.B.Smith,232; Krueger,217. 2. Trampe,II,237.

The bill passed 127-72.[1]

For the Polish territories special Cultural Orders were passed. These ordinances of October 24, 1938, November 14, 1938 and April 1, 1939 introduced German as the medium of instruction in the higher schools and for instruction in religion. Religion was still taught in Polish in the lower grades except in preparation for communion and confirmation in districts where there were German bishops. The priest were no longer permitted to go into the schools for instruction in catechism and religious history; these subjects were henceforth taught by the teachers. The professional and technical schools were put under the supervision of department heads in Berlin, and secondary education was centralized under school boards presided over by the Oberpraesident, who was supervised by the department of education in the Regency.[2]

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1. G.S. Smith, op. cit., p. 72.

> '....do not fail to forward these petitions later on at regular intervals, only address them not to the Reichstag but to the Sovereigns direct, upon whom they will, in any case produce a greater impression. Although we may have nothing to hope for from the German Princes, it is nevertheless certain that sooner or later the Catholic Princes will intervene on behalf of his Holiness, and such intervention the German Princes will not venture to oppose if the prelates impress them with the idea that opposition would cause serious dissatisfaction among the Catholic population'.[1]

It was also learned that the revolutionary agitation of the three journals of the Lemberg National Committee had spread into Posen where the National Committee was headed by Dr. Smolka.[2]

Bismark began his attack through the newspapers. He instructed Dr. Busch to prepare an article for the Koelnische Zeitung in which he was to classify

> 'the Polish nobility with their longing to revive the Jesuit and aristocratic rule....and their inexplicable hatred of the German character'

as the 'third contingent' of the 'Theocratic Party' opposed to the Government.[3] He followed this by a letter to the Emperor containing an abstract from a letter written by Count Ladislas Plater, a leader of the Polish exiles in Zurich to the editor of the Dzennik Poznanski in which he urged active agitation in Posen since

> 'Germany, whose unification is hardly complete, is undetermined by two very determined parties, the Catholics and the Socialists, neither of which will abate one jot of its demand, nor shrink from any means to promote its cause'.

He then wrote that it was a sacred duty of the Poles to support both parties, and in the event of a Socialist revolution, the

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1. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 47-49. 2. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 29, January 26, 1872.
3. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 31, Feb. 12.

'....do not fail to forward these petitions later on at regular intervals, only address them not to the Reichstag but to the Sovietsjes Direct, upon which they will, in any case produce a greater interest. Although we may have nothing to hope for from the German Princes, it is nevertheless possible that sooner or later the Catholic Princes will intervene on behalf of his Holiness, and such intervention the German Princes will not venture to oppose if the Catholics impress them with the idea that opposition would cause serious disturbances among the Catholic population'.[1]

It was also learned that the travelling agitation of the three journals of the Leuchtenberg National Committee had spread into Poznan where the National Committee was headed by Dr. Boehm.[2]

Bismark began his attack through the newspapers. He instructed Dr. Bason to prepare an article for the Kreisblatte Zeitung in which he was to clearly:

'the Polish nobility with their longing to restore the Jesuit and aristocratic rule....and their inexplicable hatred of the German character'

as the 'blind contingent' of the 'Democratic Party' opposed to the Government.[3] He followed this by a letter to the Emperor containing an abstract from a later written by Count Ludwig Plater, a leader of the Polish exiles in Zurich to the editor of the Danzig Posenaski in which he urged active agitation in Posen since

'Germany, whose unification is hardly complete, is undermined by two very determined parties, the Catholics and the Socialists, neither of which will waste one jot of its demand, nor shrink from any means to promote its cause'.

He then wrote that it was a sacred duty of the Poles to support both parties, and in the event of a Socialist revolution, the

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1. Bason, Secret Papers, II, 47-48. 2. Bason, Secret Papers, II, 3. Bason, Secret Papers, II, 51. January 23, 1872. Feb. 12.

Poles must support it with all their strength.[1]

The reports of the internal condition of Germany must have been satisfactory to Rome, for the next move of the Jesuits seemed to indicate that they were planning a restoration of Poland. Oh April 15 Russia declared its willingness to make a joint protest against the appointment of Archbishop Ledochowski of Posen as Primate of Poland. They seem not to have bargained on unity of action by Russia and Prussia for Cardinal Antonelli made haste to assure Russia that they did not mean the title to convey the idea of interrex. Russia withdrew its objection.[2]

To counteract Jesuit influence at Rome Bismark commissioned the Prussian chargé d'affaires to inquire if Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe,[3] a Liberal, a German Unionist, and an opponent of Infallibility,[4] would be acceptable to the Pope as Prussian ambassador. The Cardinal Secretary of State replied on May 1 to the note of April 25, that the Cardinal Prince would not be agreeable.[5]

Following this rebuff the Government prepared its attack on the Jesuits as an Order, and awaited a favorable moment.[6] It came five days later on May 15 when many petitions relating to the Jesuits were presented for consideration. Some of them spoke favorably of the Order and others advocated its expulsion. Bishop Ketteler opened the debate by defending them and was supported by a member of the Supreme Court of Appeal at Berlin. The chief opponents were the Privy Councillor Wagener and Prince

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1. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 41, February 17.
2. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 59, June 16
3. Hohenlohe, II, 73.
4. G.B.Smith, 233.
5. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 135.
6. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 135-136; Hohenlohe, II, 73.

Poles must support it with all their strength.[1]

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To counteract Jesuit influence at Rome Bismark commissioned the Prussian charge d'affaires to inquire if Cardinal Trinco Ko-nielos,[3] a liberal, a German Dominican, and an opponent of infallibility,[4] would be acceptable to the Pope as Prussian ambassador. The Cardinal Secretary of State replied on May 1 in the note of April 28, that the Cardinal Trinco would not be acceptable.[5]

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1. Buschen, Secret Pages, II, 21, February IV. 5. Schmidlin, II, 76.
2. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 20, June 16. 6. [illegible]
3. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 1285. 7. Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 1286-1287; Schmidlin, II, 76.

Chlodwig Hohenlohe who suggested that a bill of expulsion should contain three paragraphs: the first, that the Jesuit Order and associated Orders were prohibited; second, that any German entering the Order should lose his rights as a citizen; and third, that Germans educated by Jesuits should be refused positions in the service of both Church and State.[1] By a vote of 205-84 taken the next day a motion was carried favoring a law to regulate the status of religious orders and provide penalties for those whose activities were dangerous to the State. On June 14 the Federal Council presented the Reichstag with a Jesuit bill which went to its third deliberation on June 20. It provided for the closing of all convents and other institutions of the Jesuits and allied communities and religious societies; the expulsion of all foreign members of the Order; gave the administrative authorities the power to determine where the members of the Order could live; and established in the Federal Council a committee to execute the law. During the debate the speeches of Dorn and Gniest against the Jesuits were devastating. The only opponents of the bill were the Poles and the Ultramontanes. On July 4 the Emperor promulgate the law:

> "We, William by the Grace of God Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia, etc., in the name of the German Empire, with the assent of the Federal Council, and of the Parliament, ordain as follows: I. The Order of the Society of Jesus, as well as the monastic orders of Congregations affiliated to said Society, are excluded from the territory of the German Empire. The creation of establishments by them is forbidden. Establishments of theirs at present existing shall be suppressed within a period settled by the Federal Council, but not later than six months. II. The members of the Order of

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1. Hohenlohe, II, 75-78.

the Society of Jesus, or of Orders and Congregations affiliated, may, if aliens, be expelled from the territory of the Confederation. If they are natives, their residence in certain districts, or certain places may be forbidden or prescribed to them. III. The Federal Council will take the measures necessary for securing the execution of this law. In faith of which we have set our hand and seal imperial."[1]

In Posen and Gnesen, the theological seminaries were closed and the property and capital of the Jesuits was confiscated for State purposes. The Poles believed that since much of that capital had come from Posen it should remain there. On January 15, 1873 the Privy Councillor Wagener introduced a petition for the establishment of a new University at Posen. It was supported by Kantak and Windhorst, but refused by Falk. This was a signal for the reopening of the whole school question as well as a re-discussion,[2] of the civil marriage law. Kantak as usual led the discussion. In June the Pope gave his support in a long tirade to some Catholics at the Vatican, and he ended with a remark that led to the recall of Count Arnim. The momentous words were: 'Who knows whether a little stone may not soon fall from the mountain to crush the foot of the giant?'[3] The opponents of the law grew bolder. A union of Catholics was formed by Ketteler at Fulda to support the Church to the limit. It drew up a list of grievances declaring that canon law was superior to State law; the Church was supreme in ecclesiastical matters, education and marriage; and that the use of excommunication was justified.[4] In Posen Archbishop Ledochowskie exercised the same influence as Ketteler among the Germans.

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1. G.B.Smith,235-237. 2. Trampe,237-246. 3. G.B.Smith,256. 4. G.B.Smith,239-240.

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1. O.W. Smith, 255-257. H. Temple, CXV-CXC. R.R. Smith, 244.
4. O.W. Smith, 230-240.

On October 27 the Government further restricted the use of Polish by confining it to use only in the teaching of religion,[1] but he went no further. Prince Hohenlohe, who owned property in Posen, knew the strength of the opposition when he wrote:

> "had they been permitted to go much further, the 'allies of law and order' would soon have made a revolution in Posen. These intrigues of the Jesuits in Poland offered just the right pretext for proceeding against them. Bismark shirked fighting. He knew very well that the contest would not be limited to the Jesuits. He had formerly used the Order as an ally against revolution. But finally he was compelled to give up his former friends..... If we Liberals persist in sticking to the Jesuit law, that does not mean that we will thereby fight the Catholic Church..... If the clergy were to be taken under the supervision of the State, that does not mean that the Old Catholics and the Jews are to train them, but the State has a right and the duty to take care that..... enemies off State order and the tools of the Jesuits are not manufactured....."[2]

About a month later he wrote:

> ".....if the Jesuits agitate in Posen and in Alsace they do this under the command of their superiors, empowered by the Order, and for this it is answerable....."[3]

From now on until about 1878 the three-sided Kulturkampf which sometimes involved relations with France, Austria and Russia, acted as a boomerang. The Government took measures against Posen and Rome struck back; the Government answered the Vatican and was replied to from Posen. In 1872 the administration had finally abolished manorial autonomy. The townspeople and villagers henceforth elected honorary officials who took over the police functions of the larger estates and the villages, and

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1. Poliakov,142. 2. Hohenlohe,II,83-84 From a letter to his brother-in-law, Prince Friedrich Karl,August,9,1872.
3. Hohenlohe,II,84-86 to the same September 8.

chose municipal officers. Villages were permitted to combine with adjoining communities for better local management. The head of the Amtsbezirke became a Crown official with the right to interfere with the duties of the election officers, and to act with the County Board chosen by the Assembly from among the gentlemen of the District. The bill had passed the Lower House with little difficulty but had failed in the Upper until the King created more nobles. At this time Bismark gave up the presidency of the Prussian Cabinet and was succeeded by Count von Roon, senior Minister of State; he retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and the Chancellorship of the Empire.[1]

By attacking the schools and the church Bismark hoped to be rid of Jesuit influence, instead he strengthened it. The clergy, denied the right to express themselves through those mediums, redoubled their interest in the Jackowski societies, but being still involved with the Government they could not devote all their time to them. Maximian Jackowski from one end of Posen to the other spread the idea of unity. He divided the province into districts, each under a Vice-Patron chosen from among the resident landowners. These gentlemen supervised the ten or fifteen societies established in each district, and learned the worth and reliability of the principal members. At the monthly meetings the societies discussed their local problems, and once a year they sent delegates to the District meeting. One of the duties of the Vice Patrons was to have these yearly meetings as large as possible, but politics, following the Marcinkowski principle, were banned. In the Spring

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1. G.B.Smith,239-241.

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1. G.H. Smith, 222-224.

a General Assembly was held at Posen to broaden the outlook of the members, and since only economic affairs were permitted to be discussed at these public meetings the Government could hardly interfere. Following the general meeting the Vice-patrons and Jackowski met secretly to discuss the political outlook and their decisions were secretly carried down the line among the people. After the promulgation of some new regulations or the refusal of a petition, Jackowski called a special meeting of his vice-patrons to discuss and decide upon the next step. The Central organization had a permanent secretary and an editor for its weekly journal the Poradnik Gospodarski, and Jackowski while ostensibly making the farmers more self-reliant and progressive in agriculture, was actually training them for the time when the nobility should break under the strain of Government opposition. It was this phase of the work that Jackowski stressed when he talked with the nobility, and from the liberally minded he received support.

When the organization was felt to be strong enough, imperceptibly at first, but with growing effectiveness the economic boycott of the small German farmer, tradesman and artisan was put in motion, and when at its height included the professional classes in the boycott. Throughout the Kulturkampf it grew in numbers and strength. By 1875 there were forty-five societies allied to the central organization from which they received their political orders; in 1876 there were sixty-one; in 1877 the number had jumped to one hundred and five; and

then the pace slowed down. Ten years later the increase had brought the figure to one hundred and twenty, and so on into West Prussia. Chief among Jackowski's assistants were Zoltowski and Chlapowski who carried on the work among the nobility.[1]

As the Fall elections of 1872 drew near, the Polish exiles bestirred themselves again. Prince Czartoryski recommended the election of the parish priest Zduny because of his strong Centrist and nationalist sentiments, and his friendship with Kozmian. The Prince also sent Ladislas Witkowski, a Jesuit, to Posen to stir up the peasantry. Another Polish Jesuit the Government was warned would bear watching was Jalowiecki who had been carrying messages between Rome and Posen and might have on him instructions from the French Secret Police.[2]

Faced by such opposition Windhorst said that the Government had no choice but to begin to execute people, if it dared. The Government refrained from such extremes and confined itself to further legislation. It added exile to the other penalties for law-breaking, and then passed the 'May Laws', first introduced in January 1873. That Bismark dictated these laws to Falk seems fairly certain, in spite of his denial in his Reminiscences; in volume two of Secret Pages is a letter from Bismark to Busch written from Varzin on May 3, 1880:

> '.....who, then, proposed the May laws, and persuaded Falk to agree to them, in spite of innumerable judicial scruples, which he only surrendered after long hesitation? Now they extol them as a kind of Palladium, and so does he. But he showed by no means so much energy against the Clericals in his administrative capacity, as he does now in his Parliamentary

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1. Poliakov, 142-148. 2. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 85, A letter from Count Arnim at Paris to Bismark on October 10.

speeches.'[1]

Of Bismark's attitude when these laws failed to produce the desired results one biographer wrote:

> ".....the blame subsequently.....laid on Falk as the author of the mischief and the failure, was a characteristic trait of ingratitude. A scape goat had to be found and Falk, the hero of the National Liberals and Radicals, served the convenient purpose of exculpating the Chancellor and affronting the parties with which Bismark broke between 1878 and 1879."[2]

These laws which caused so much comment provided for the exile of bishops whenever they should act contrary to the decrees of the State; the education of the clergy in gymnasia and three years in a State university to be followed by a State examination in German history, philosophy, literature and the classics; the inspection of Theological Seminaries; the verification of all clerical appointments by the State; and the establishment of a Royal Court at Berlin to deal with ecclesiastical cases of infringement. It was also forbidden to open new seminaries, and heavy fines were to be imposed for appointments not proving satisfactory to the State.[3]

To the Reichstag in early March the Federal Council's Committee on Religious Orders presented its report recommending the expulsion of the Redemptionists and Lazarists, and the Congregations of the Holy Ghost and the Sacred Heart. A fierce debate followed, but the recommendations were accepted and the Council executed them.[4] During the discussions the Union of Fulda in April again protested, the resistence of the clergy

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1. Busch,Secret Pages,II,245; Appendix 169.
2. Robertson,329.
3. Whitman,16; Simon,222-223; Hohenlohe,II,102; G.B.Smith,242.
4. G.B.Smith,243, March 12.

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These laws which caused so much comment provided for the exile of bishops whenever they, should act contrary to the law of the State; the education of the clergy in gymnasia and three years in a State university to be followed by a State examination in German history, philosophy, literature and the classics; the inspection of Theological Seminaries; the verification of all clerical appointments by the State; and the establishment of a Royal Court of Parish to deal with ecclesiastical cases in first instance. It was also forbidden to open new seminaries, heavy fines were to be imposed for appointments not proving satisfactory to the State.[3]

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1. Busch, Secret Pages, II, 243; Appendix 150.
2. Hohenlohe, 320.
3. Whitman, Op. Cit., 222-223; Hohenlohe, II, 100; U.S. Statutes, 4. U.S. Statutes, Sec. Union 18.

increased, and fresh prosecutions followed. Among the State's victims was Archbishop Ledochowski of Posen. He had persisted in making appointments without Government approval. The penalty was a fine of two hundred talers or four months in prison. When his term had expired the Archbishop continued his appointments.[1]

The Pope now ventured that the actions of the Chancellor had been contrary to the Emperor's wishes, a suggestion that roused William's ire. In September he wrote a very sharp reply stating that everything had been done according to his Orders.[2] Pius answered in an encyclical excommunicating those bishops who obeyed the Emperor's laws.[3]

A new bill relating to civil marriages and the civil registration of births and deaths which had been advocated by Bismark in January, but which had not received the consent of the King until months later, was introduced in the Fall session of the Landtag. It required that in the future all marriages, births and deaths in order to be recognized by the civil authorities had to be registered by the magistrate. It was passed as the "natural corollary to the previous ecclesiastical legislation".[4]

In December by decree the Emperor as King of Prussia changed the oath of allegiance required of the Catholic bishops to read:

> 'I will be subject, true, obedient, and devoted to his Majesty; carefully observe the laws of the State, and especially strive that the sentiments of honor and

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1. G.B.Smith,243 April 1873. 2. G.B.Smith,249.
3. Bigelow,164-165; cf. Bismark's attitude on civil marriage in 1849-Appendix,168. 4. G.B.Smith,248-249.

> fidelity to the King, love of country, obedience to the laws and all those virtues which denote at once the good subject and the Christian, shall be carefully cherished among the clergy and congregations entrusted to my episcopal guidance, and that I will not allow the clergy subject to me to teach or act in an opposing sense. In particular I promise to hold no communion or connection within or without the country which may be dangerous to the public security.'

To break down the power of the Center party in the Landtag, Bismark, just before the Fall elections published the correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor. The Press took up the cudgels for the King, and the election returns gave the Government 178 Moderate Liberals, sixty-two more than the previous session and with the votes of the Moderate Conservatives and the Liberals, a total support of 311 of the 432 seats. Bismark was given a vote of confidence,[1] although even without it he would have remained in office.

With renewed vigor the Government took up the conflict with the Church and in November Hohenlohe wrote that Falk was prepared to dismiss Ledochowski and perhaps to arrest him and other recalcitrant clergy; to propose a new Federal law on civil marriage; to secularize Church property; to convert the priests; to pay salaries instead of permitting the collection of tithes; and to abolish patronage. Falk also told Hohenlohe that if the Emperor did not accept his civil marriage proposal, he was ready to resign.[2]

The imperial elections early in 1874 increased the membership of the Center party from sixty-two to ninety-one; the Poles had thirty-three seats; and altogether the Center could count on

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1. G.B.Smith,247 October 1873. 2. Hohenlohe,II,97-98.

170 votes as against the Government's 400.[1] The most eloquent member of the Center in the Reichstag was Dr. Mallinkrodt, who, according to Princess Catherine Radziwill, was the only member of the party who had a "clear appreciation of the new system of relations inaugurated by the foundation of the German Empire".[2]

The May Laws were now supplemented by others without much opposition. Two of them dealt with the administration of the dioceses whose bishops the Government had dismissed, or was about to dismiss. Within a few weeks four of the twelve bishops in Prussia lost their benefices, and the Archbishops of Posen and Cologne, and the Bishop of Treves were arrested and imprisoned for refusing to pay the fines imposed. To make certain that these ecclesiasts would not be reinstated or could not claim it, after the expiration of their prison terms, a bill was introduced in the Federal Council and the Reichstag to prevent such reassertion, and if the culprit still refused obedience, he was to be deprived of his rights as a citizen and expelled. This measure was also to be applicable to those who continued to exercise former prerogatives in spite of dismissal. It passed both Houses with little difficulty.[3]

In the Polish communities which had lost their clergy Germans were put in their places, and where the Polish school teachers were transferred and substituted by Germans, the Poles sent their children of pre-school age to the Church-school so

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1. G.B.Smith,250 Robertson,330. 2. My Recollections,144-145.
3. G.B.Smith,250. 4. G.B.Smith,25-251;Whitman,16;Poliakov,147.

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1. G.S. Zeitz, 220 Sonderbeg, 220. 2. My Recollections, 114-116
3. G.S. Zeitz, 220. 4. G.S. Zeitz, Sn-Ausschuss, Beilage 1.

that they might not entirely forget their native tongue. Posen and Gnesen received German bishops but no archbishop until 1879 when the See was given to a German named Dinder.[1]

Falk was not content with these restrictions and added supplementary regulations. Priests who had not submitted to the May Laws were suspended and deprived of their allowances.[2] Congregations without ministering officials could under certain conditions choose their own pastors and in that way have a share in the administration of Church property. The Federal Council's Committee on religious communities decided it best to prohibit all of them except those devoted to nursing, and expel all the members of the debarred societies.[3]

In May or June 1874 an incident occurred which illustrates Bismark's tactics in dealing with highly placed persons who had fallen under suspicion. Bismark had long awaited an opportune moment for an invasion of the Radziwill palace to obtain the proofs he needed to destroy the influence of that family at Court. Finally his chance came while one of the Princes was at Ems with the Emperor, most of the others were out of town and there were only five or six of the family at the Palace.

> "My brother-in-law had a secretary, von Kehler, a former clerk in the Foreign Office. He..... was converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and like all converts, became a fanatic..... ..... he was treated as a friend of the family, was in general highly respected, and an influential member of the Reichstag." "We were startled, one day, on going down to dinner, by a visit from the police with orders to search the papers of M. von Kehler in the room he occupied.....as a workroom. My husband's cousins loudly protested, but the orders

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1. G.B.Smith,250-251;Whitman,16;Poliakov,147.
2. Simon,223-224. 3. G.B.Smith,251.

> were formal; the police took possession of the room, and under pretense of looking into M. von Kehler's drawers, examined every paper belonging to my brother-in-law or cousins. I never knew the end of the story ....the greatest precautions were always observed as regards documents.....[1]

During the summer of 1874 a murderous attack was made on Bismark by Kullmann a journeyman cooper who fired at the Chancellor while he was out driving. When the culprit was apprehended, it appeared that the attack had been planned as the result of news articles in the Catholic press and an address heard at Church on the persecution of the Archbishop of Posen. He was sentenced to a fourteen year prison term. Following this affair the police redoubled their efforts, and greater shackles were put on the press.[2]

Dr. Windhorst and Reichensperger were quite willing by this time to give up the unequal struggle. Already in 1873 the former had approached Bismark, but was not received. Meanwhile the rift between the Center and the Jesuits at Rome widened.[3]

A Federal law concerning the civil registration of marriages, etc., which Falk considered essential, was finally passed. To it were added clauses permitting the use of consecrated ground for the burial of those who belonged to no religious congregation; abolishing clerical jurisdiction in divorce suits; and allowing priests, monks and nuns to marry.[4] Articles 15, 16 and 18 of the Prussian Constitution were repealed.[5]

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1. Princess Catherine Radziwill, My Recollections,122.
2. G.B.Smith,253-254.
3. Hohenlohe,II,129-130 March 10,1874.
4. G.B.Smith,258-259.
5. Bismark,Reminiscences,II,136; Appendix 170.

About 1875 the Pope declared the Falk laws invalid and opposed to the divinity of the Church. The language of that encyclical was declared by one Catholic to be more arrogant than the dogma of infallibility. Bismark followed it by withdrawing the State grants from all bishops who refused to take an oath in writing to obey all the laws of the State. This called forth another protest from the Union of Fulda, which petitioned the Emperor directly. He replied through his ministers refusing to dismiss his Chancellor.[1]

By 1876 the Government began to realize that the struggle could not go on forever. The Emperor was weary.[2]

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A few conciliatory steps were taken. Religious and civil marriage were declared valid.[4] Then followed a long debate between the 8th and the 12th of August on institutional autonomy; it was again granted to the higher institutions by a majority of fifty. Free intercourse between religious associations and their superiors was permitted. But the war with Polonism was not given up. On August 28, 1876 the Polish language was again attacked. German only was to be used in all branches of the civil service as well as in commercial relations.[5]

Agitation in Posen continued not only in opposition to this new regulation but against the vacancies in the Church.

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1. G.B.Smith,259-260; Princess Catherine Radziwill,94; Whitman,16. 2. Simon,227. 3.Robertson,332-333.
4. Hohenlohe,II,156 note. 5. Trampe,II,246-290.

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1. [illegible], 208-209; Thomas Dahlmann Rechtswill, 90; Wallmann, 74. 2. Simon, 207. 3. Robertson, 232-233.
4. Schnabel, II, 116 note. 5. Kraus, II, 244-250.

Thirty-five of the forty deans in the province were in prison, ninety-seven parishes had had no ceremony of confirmation for six years, and the fines alone paid to the Government amounted to 200,000 marks.[1] The situation of the rest of Prussia was hardly better for there was a total of 1300 parishes without recognized pastors, and all the Prussian bishops had been deposed and most of these were in exile, although many of them continued to administer to their flocks through secret delegates.[2]

Fortunately in 1877 Pius IX died and his successor, Leo XII

> "expressed his regret at no longer finding the friendship which had formerly subsisted between Prussia and the Papacy and he appealed to the Emperor's magnanimity that peace might be restored to his Catholic subjects".[3]

On March 24 the Emperor wrote expressing the hope that his Holiness would induce the clergy to submit to the laws of the land. April 17 the Pope replied that submission would be possible only if the May Laws were repealed. To which the Crown Prince, as Regent, owing to an attack on the King, replied that Prussia desired peace but that he could not permit a foreign Power to dictate the law.[4] Bismark, who needed the support of the Center to successfully combate the growing Socialist influence, also desired a settlement. Cardinal Franchi was delegated to carry on the negotiations for Rome, but progress was very slow owing to the opposition of the French Ultras, the Jesuits, and the Austrian bishops. He had, however, the support of Ledochowski who was in exile.[5] A few bishoprics were filled that

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1. Lutosanski,I,708; Gooch,Germany,34. 2. Simon,227.
3. Simon,230-233. 4. Rodd, Frederick,Crown Prince and Emperor,155. 5. Hohenlohe,II,234.

were acceptable to Berlin and Rome. Then the Cardinal died from poisoning, it seems quite probable at the hands of the Jesuits, and he was succeeded by Cardinal Nina, as anti-German as Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe was anti-Jesuit. Negotiations were broken off. They were renewed by Archbishop Neocaesarea whose demand for a return to the "status quo ante 1870, in Prussia, de facto if not actually by treaty" Bismark refused. In August another attempt was made by the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Masella, at Munich and each side conceded something. Rome allowed the clergy to take the Anzeigerpflicht or oath of allegiance and accepted a German Archbishop, Dinder, in the See of Posen, after the resignation of Ledochowski,[1] whom the Emperor would not accept under any circumstances. Berlin dismissed Falk and appointed Puttkamer. The following year, 1880, a settlement was reached at Vienna between the German ambassador and Mgr. Jacobini. Both sides admitted that it was impossible to draw a line between the spheres of Church and State.[2] The Kulturkampf was over. Neither side had won what it had desired at the beginning. Both parties sighed with relief, if not satisfaction, that the contest which had roused such deep seated passions was ended, but the effects especially on Polish soil were evident in the unity of action the Poles continued to exhibit.

The one party in Prussia which had withstood all attacks was the Center, and the fact that it was still in-

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1. Poliakov, 147
2. Bismark, Reminiscences, II, 395-396 Letter from Bismark to the King of Bavaria; Hohenlohe, II, 264

were acceptable to Berlin and Bonn. Then the Cardinal died from poisoning. It seems quite probable at the hands of the Russian, and he was succeeded by Cardinal Frings, an anti-German as Cardinal Prince Bodenlube was anti-Russian. Negotiations were broken off. They were renewed by Archbishop Roncalli whom Berlin feared for a return to the "status quo ante 1870". In France, he tried if not actually by treaty, Alsace-Lorraine returned. In August another attempt was made by the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Bonelli, at Munich and again aide succeeded somewhere. Rome allowed the clergy to take the Bundesgrundlitt or oath of allegiance and arranged a German Archbishop, Bieber, in the See of Fosen, after the resignation of Laubowski, whom the Emperor would not accept under any circumstances. Berlin disclaimed Falk and appointed Puttkamer. The following year, 1880, a settlement was reached at Vienna between the German Ambassador and Mr. Jacobini. Both sides admitted that it was impossible to draw a line between the spheres of Church and State. The Kulturkampf was over. Neither side had won what it had desired at the beginning. Both parties stepped back from relief, if not satisfaction, that the contest which had roused such deep-seated passions was ended. But the effects especially on Polish soil were evident in the unity of action the Poles demonstrated to exhibit.

The one party in Prussia which had withstood all attacks was the Center, and the fact that it was still in-

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1. Soltikow, 147
2. Eisenhart, Reichstagsmann, II, 282-284 Letter from Bismarck to the King of Prussia; Sarnebow, II, 244

tact and continued to be one of the most powerful factors in Prussian politics for years to come, stood as an example of what might be accomplished with a party well disciplined and ready for action at the crack of the whip. It might have served the Government as an object lesson, but it appears that Governments like people rarely learn from experience. Had any highly placed government official studied that party he might have learned that part of its strength had come from the stern measures the Government had taken against its principles. If such a study was made it could not have come to the attention of those in power, because soon Bismark was to adopt similar measures against the Socialists and with almost as little success. The Centre stood for something else, too; it symbolized Prussianism, - its members obeyed their master's voice without a murmur, a thought, or a hesitation.

Bismark's war on Polonism was similarly a miserable failure. He had not stamped out Polonism; he had not advanced the interests of Germanism in the East, in fact, quite the opposite was true. By his opposition to the Church he had put a weapon in the hands of the clergy, a weapon which they did not fail to use and use successfully. They raised the cry that the attack on the Church was an attack on the Polish nationality. While the clergy were re-vitalizing that nationalty, the Jackowski societies were consolidating their gains by the use of the economic

that and continued to be one of the most powerful factors in Prussian politics for years to come. Stood as an example of what might be accomplished with a party well disciplined and ready for action at the crack of the whip. It might have served the Government as an object lesson, but it appears that Germans like people rarely learn from experience. Had any highly placed government official studied that party he might have learned that part of its strength had come from the stand Bismarck and the Government had taken against the politicians. If such a study was made it could not have come to the attention of those in power. Bismarck was to adopt similar measures against the Socialists and with almost as little success. The Centre stood for something else, for it symbolized Prussianism, - the mastery of the State over the Church, a mastery without a surrender, a struggle, or a negotiation.

Bismarck's war on Catholics was clearly a miserable failure. He had not stamped out Catholicism; he had not surrounded the interests of Germanism in the East. In fact, quite the opposite was true. By his opposition to the Church he had put a weapon in the hands of the clergy, a weapon which they did not fail to use and use successfully. They raised the cry that the attack on the Church was an attack on the Polish nationality. While the clergy were re-vitalizing that nationality, the Socialists were consolidating their gains by the use of the wonderful

boycott. If the peasantry were to be taught to shun the shops of the German tradesmen, as well as refuse to purchase the products of German business and manufacture, the Poles must have similar enterprises of their own. Many 'Popular Banks', cooperative societies, and a 'Peasants' Bank'[1] followed upon the heels of the successful Jackowski societies. And as the Government was still in the market as a buyer, real estate prices rose and with it the price of grain.[2] The province now enjoyed an almost unprecedented era of prosperity. With increased wealth the Poles bought what was necessary to improve the soil, the crops, the livestock and the living conditions of the people. In politics their representation in the Reichstag increased from 28 in 1875 to 35 in 1878, and 43 in 1881, the peak of their power. The Poles by this time had learned at least one valuable lesson, a revolution would inevitably bring about the cooperation of Russia and Prussia; Germany, itself was still too powerful for them; and an alliance with France or Rome was not feasible because of the other and more pressing concerns of those Courts. The only hope of success lay in the future when Germany's attention would be completly occupied elsewhere, aw Bismark himself prophesied.[3]

Bismark was not willing to admit his failure; in his Reminiscences he expresses himself as content with the laws

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1. Polish Encyclopedia, II, 139-149
2. Fisher and Brooks, 33; Henderson, 489-492
3. Ref. p.128

growth. If the peasantry were to be bought to claim the shares of the German tradesmen, as well as refuse to purchase the products of German business and manufactures, the Poles must have stability enough of their own. Many 'popular demos', cooperative societies, and a 'Peasants' Bank' followed upon the heels of the successful Sokolowski societies. And as the Government was still in the market as a buyer, real estate prices rose and with it the price of grain.[2] The province was enjoying an almost unprecedented era of prosperity. With increased wealth the Poles bought what was necessary to improve the soil, the crops, the livestock and the living conditions of the people. In politics their representation in the Reichsrat increased from 58 in 1897 to 55 in 1907, and 42 in 1911, the peak of their power. The Poles by this time had learned at least one valuable lesson, a revolution would inevitably bring about the cooperation of Russia and Prussia; Germany, Israel was still too powerful for them; and an alliance with France or Rome was not feasible because of the other and more pressing concerns of these Courts. The only hope of success lay in the future when Germany's attention would be completely occupied elsewhere, as Bismarck himself prophesied.[3]

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1. Polish Encyclopedia, II, 129-130
2. Platner and Brooks, 33; Hagerman, 499-502
3. Ref. p.128

passed against the schools and with the abolition of the Catholic section, both of which acts had occurred very early in the contest. They were immediate gains, but, because of the former, Polish nationalism was stimulated and in spite of the latter, continued its progress.

From the point of view of one who witnessed the contest from Court circles, Princess Catherine Radziwill blamed the encouragement given the bishops by the Catholic party at Court for the acuteness of the struggle.

> ".....at seventeen one only sees things.....
> What I remember most clearly from these years is that constant communications were exchanged between my husband's family and the Archbishop of Posen, Count Ledochowski. I do not think that he himself had any illusions as to the issue of the war declared by Prince Bismark..... but he was influenced by the great position of the Radziwills, and believed they could, through their influence over the King obtain from him certain concessions which the chancellor would never have dreamed of making.
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> "The whole Kulturkampf reposed on this misunderstanding which Bismark, with all his genius and acuteness had not forseen, because he could not admit that serious people like the Archbishop of Posen.....could believe the assurances of men who had nothing to do with the conduct of State affairs, that they were in a position to influence the sovereign in opposition to himself.

charged against the refugees and with the condition of the Catholic section, both of which acts had occurred very early in the contest. They were inexcusable quite, but, because of the former, Catholic nationalism was stimulated and in spite of the latter, concluded its purposes.

From the point of view of one who witnessed the contest from Court circles, Princess Catherine Radziwill blamed the encouragement given the bishops by the Carlists party at Court for the amateurs of the struggle.

"..... at seventeen one only sees things.....

What I remember most clearly from there years is that constant communications were exchanged between my husband's family and the French king of Paris, Count Chambord. I do not think that he himself had any illusions as to the issue of the war declared by Prince Bismarck..... but he was influenced by the great position of the Radziwills, and believed they could, through their influence over the King obtain from him certain concessions which the chancellor would never have dreamed of making.

"The whole Hohenzollern dynasty, with all its genius and nationness had not forgotten, because he could not forget that serious people like the Kronprinzen of Prussia.....could believe the assurances of men who had nothing to do with the conduct of State affairs, that they were in a position to influence the sovereign in opposition to himself.

Yet it was the case; and I am fully convinced that if the Radziwill palace had not existed, the famous journey to Canossa, which Bismark undertook so many years later, would never have taken place; or at least would have been undertaken differently. I remember well the day when the news of the arrest of Mgr. Ledochowski reached us. It was in February, a dull bleak winter morning. I had gone downstairs to see the wife of one of my brother-in-law's cousins, Princess Ferdinand..... I found her with an open telegram in her hand containing the news that the Archbishop had been arrested the night before. Both she and her husband were terribly excited, and convinced that the event was destined to have the greatest political consequences. My cousin was a member of the Reichstag, and his brother, Prince Edmund,.. then already in holy orders, and vicar of the little town of Ostrow in Prussian Poland, the same one in which the Archbishop was confined - obtained the Government's permission to share the prelate's captivity. He was a keen politician, and both in private life as well as in his capacity of member of the Reichstag, took a leading part in the struggle. He was by far the most able man of the whole family.....but he was prejudiced as they all were.....

"When Count Ledochowski was thrown into prison the general feeling in government circles was, that it would put an end to all attempts at resistance on the

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When Count Ledochowski was thrown into prison the general feeling in government circles was, that it would put an end to all attempts at reconciliation on the

part of the Catholics, whilst they thought that it would work the Chancellor's defeat in his design."

"In spite of all the rigour of the Archbishop's captivity, communications were constant between him and the leaders of the Catholic party....."[1]

With the Church problem on the way to solution, Bismark made his peace with the Clerical party whose support he needed in his war on Socialism, and Dr. Windhorst gladly led his cohorts to support the repeal of the anti-clerical legislation of the past several years. In 1881 the laws on government supervision of clerical appointments and the exile of foreign clergy were repealed. Many of the deposed bishops were reinstated. Some of the newly appointed bishops were purposely chosen from the Ultra-conservative camp to become Government agents in quieting the unrest still found in many parts of Prussia and especially in Poland. These ecclesiasts could also be of great service to the Ostmarkverein, that organization for the extension of Germanism in the Polish territories which Bismark had been instrumental in founding.[2]

At the opening of the Prussian parliament in 1882 the King announced the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican and in the Fall session expressed his satisfaction with the progress of the negotiations. On December 3, however, the Pope again took up the question of a revision of the May Laws; on the 22nd William was willing, provided the Pope would permit

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1. Princess Radziwill,108-114. 2. G.B.Smith 279, 296; Simon, II,234; Marriott and Robertson,397-398; Fisher and Brooks, 32-33; Lutosanski,I,708-709; Hohenlohe,II,299.

the notification of ecclesiastical nominations. His Holiness replied on January 30, 1883 that his consent to such notification would depend upon the character of the revision.[1] Bismark accordingly, had passed a Relief Act. The bishops were permitted to exercise jurisdiction outside their dioceses pending appointments to fill the vacancies, and the clergy were again granted the right of appeal to the Ministry of Public Worship.[2]

The following year by a vote of 217 to 93 the expulsion law relating to illegal acts by the clergy was repealed.[3] Early in 1886 the archdiocese was again awarded to a German, a former priest from East Prussia. The candidacy of Cardinal Ledochowski the Government again refused to consider because he was regarded more as a political leader than an ecclesiastical dignitary. The Pope had then suggested promoting a Polish priest, but the Government would not listen to such a proposal.[4]

The Pope next endeavored to procure institutional autonomy for more schools. On February 15 the Herrenhaus passed a bill which gave the State restricted control over the seminaries, abolished the Royal ecclesiastical court, and returned to the Pope and bishops their authority over the clergy. The passage of this law was made the easier by the growing fear of Socialism.[5] The Landtag in May passed it by a vote of 260-108.[6] And in 1891 the last of the May laws disappeared.[7] In June 1891 William II expressed his relief that the struggle was over.

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1. Simon,II,234-235.
2. G.B.Smith,300.
3. G.B.Smith,304.
4. Simon,II,238.
5. Simon,II,238, Poliakov,161-162.
6. Simon,II,239.
7. Lowe,The German Emperor,194.

the modification of secularization legislation. The Bait-
mess replied on January 24, 1893 that his consent to such modi-
fication would depend upon the character of the proposed
Statute accordingly, had passed a Belief Act. The Statute was
restricted to excludes Buddhistic cultists that disregarded
ing appointments to fill the vacancies, and the clergy were
again granted the right of appeal to the Ministry of Public
Worship.[6]

The following year by a vote of 52V to 92 the expulsion
law relating to illegal sects by the clergy was repealed.[7]
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which gave the State restricted control over the seminaries,
maintained the Royal ecclesiastical court, and returned to the
Pope and bishops slight authority over the clergy. The passage
of this law was made the easier by the growing fear of Socialism.
The Landtag in May passed it by a vote of 230-128.[9] And in
1897 the last of the May laws disappeared.[7] In June 1902 Wil-
liam II expressed his belief that the struggle was over.

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1. Simon, II, 324-326. 4. Simon, II, 326. Schlabow, 141-142.
2. G.S. Bell, 220. 5. Simon, II, 328.
3. G.S. Bell, 224. 6. Simon, II, 329.
4. Simon, II, 328. 7. Lowe, The German Empire, 144.

'I hail with joy the essential step that has been taken towards smoothing away ecclesiastical differences by returning to the Catholic Church the funds that had been sequestered. Religious peace is indispensible for the welfare of my people; at the same time, the claims put forward in favor of the Church must be restrained within limits compatible with the position and tasks of the State.'

"Repeatedly has the Imperial Government refused to revoke the law expelling the Jesuits and their affiliated Orders from the Fatherland, but in some other respects the Government of Prussia under William II has practically gone to Canossa."[1]

The Polish question was not so easily settled. In 1882 the Poles drew down upon themselves Governmental wrath by an article in the "Czas" the journal of the Czartoryski party, containing a resumé of an alleged conversation between Bismark and a noted Polish patriot of Varzin. The Chancellor was supposed to have invited the patriot in question to discuss with him a grant of independence to Prussian Poland which would from gratitude give Prussia the support it had refused while under its rule. Bismark through the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung denied the entire incident and again pointed out that such a State, though set up by Germany, would create two Eastern questions where before there had been but one.[2]

About this time an attempt was made to introduce the teaching of religion in German, but it failed due to the opposition of the Minister of Education, Gossler, and the Oberpraesident, von Zedlitz-Truetschler.[3]

In 1884 the meeting between the three Emperors at Skiernie-wice in Prussian Poland signalized further drastic measures.

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1. Lowe, 194. 2.Busch,Our Chancellor,II,144-145.
3. Bismark,II,298.

In the Spring of 1885 the Minister of the Interior, Puttkamer, promulgated an edict expelling all Poles not subjects of Prussia. Within a year more than thirty thousand had been driven out, penniless, homeless, and without a country. Many of them had worked hard, saved money, put it into mutual aid societies and other insurances against old age, and then, over night they had lost it all. The majority of them found asylum in Austria or the United States.[1]

Both at home and abroad this measure was not favorably received. Russia protested and the Federal and Prussian Parliaments debated its legality.[2] On the first of December the King of Prussia as Emperor informed the Imperial Parliament that Polish affairs were exclusively the province of the Prussian government.[3] But this time the Emperor was wrong, for according to the Federal constitution the parliament did have jurisdiction.[4] When Russia presented a protest the Bundesrat claimed lack of jurisdiction and did nothing.[5] Not so the Reichstag. Dr. Windhorst planned to use it as the basis of a motion of censure against the Chancellor. The public eagerly awaited the attack. On the day appointed the hall of the Reichstag was jammed with a curious public, but before the debate could begin, the door opened, Bismark strode into the Hall and read the Emperor's declaration in which he stated that he could not permit his acts as a sovereign to be questioned by the Reichstag or Landtag.[6] Princess Catherine Radzi-

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1. G.B.Smith,306-307; Robertson;402;Lutosanski,I,709;Dyboski, 51-52. 2. Lutosanski,I,709;G.B.Smith,366.
3. Simon,II,177. 4.Simon,II,196. 5. Lutosanski,I,709.
6. Princess Radziwill,240-241.

will described the scene very vividly.[1] When the members had recovered from their amazement a long debate followed during which the Poles had the support of the other subject nationalities, the left wing of the Clerical party, the Progressive Liberals and the Socialists; but the order was not rescinded, and by assuming the responsibility for it the King absolved Bismark and Puttkamer. Windhorst's purpose was thwarted. Two days later, that is after the delivery of the King's message, the Reichstag passed a resolution declaring the expulsion unjustified and contrary to the best interests of the Empire.[2]

When the Landtag demanded an explanation it was told that the increase in the Polish population over the German threatened the security of Germanism in the East.[3] With that it had to be content.

Prussia now rid of the foreign Poles prepared to give battle to its own subject Poles. At the opening of the Prussian parliament in January 1886 the King said:

> '.....the undermining of the German by the Polish element in some of the Eastern Provinces imposes on the Government the duty of taking measures to guarantee the existence and development of the German nation'.[4]

Bismark then introduced the Expropriation and Interior Colonization bill[5] which set up a Settlement Commission with funds amonting to seven hundred thousand marks to be devoted to the purchase of Polish estates and other lands on which the Commission was to settle German colonists under oath to marry German girls, if they were not already married. The money was to be

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1. Appendix 179
2. Simon,II,196-197.
3. G.B.Smith,306-307.
4. Simon,II,195.
5. Dawson,Evolution of Modern Germany, 482; Robertson, 402; G.B.Smith,312; Trampe,II,306-353.

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Prussia now rid of the foreign Poles prepared to give battle to its own subject Poles. At the opening of the Prussian parliament in January 1908 the King said:

> '.....the undermining of the German by the Polish element in some of the Eastern Provinces imposes on the Government the duty of taking measures to guarantee the existence and development of the German racial element.'

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1. Appendix IVB. 4. Simon, II, 188.
2. Simon, II, 186-187. 5. German Development of Modern Germany.
3. G.F. Smith, 206-207. also: Robertson, 406; G.F. Smith, 208; Simon, II, 208-209.

distributed into three funds: one hundred thousand for the purchase of estates, one hundred and fifty thousand, for forest lands and Royal domains, and three hundred and fifty thousand, to subsidize the colonists who would be Government tenants, becoming proprietors in from twenty-five to fifty years. Polish soldiers and officials would be given an opportunity to serve the State in districts far from home. Popular education would be centralized, and supervised by the Department of Education and Religion of the Regency. The School Inspector would be the only link between the teacher and the Regency. The Inspectors would be German in order to prevent teaching that would keep alive the Polish national spirit.

Turning to the Polish delegates he said:

> 'You will never realize your ambitions except as the result of a war, disasterous to Germany, when Prussia has been smashed to bits'.

In spite of Bismark's warning to obstructionists as he ended his speech the Radicals and Centrists supported the Poles, but when they realized that they could not prevent the passage of the measure, they left the room before the vote was taken.[1]

Among the reasons given for proposing such legislation Bismark in his speech of the 28th of January spoke of the ease with which Germans are assimilated to other nations, which he called the

> 'curious capacity of the Germans, not to be found in any other nation, not only to jump out of his own skin, but to creep into the skin of a foreigner!'[2]

He also said that the concessions of 1815 and the policy of 1848 had been blunders which the law would repair. It was

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1. G.B.Smith,312-313; Robertson,402; Simon,II,193,197.
2. Poliakov,148,149.

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'curious capacity of the Germans, not to be found in any other nation, not only to jump out of his own skin, but to creep into the skin of a foreigner!'

He also said that the concessions of 1871 and the policy of 1872 had been blunders which the Jew would regret. It was

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1. J.G. Smith, Old-Girls Schoolchildren, Mem., 1.10, 1.20.
2. Prelsov, 1.49, 1.50.

necessary to eradicate the Polish nationality because the Germans were too sympathetic and because the Poles, not having given up the idea of independence, were preparing for it by polonizing West Prussia. An independent Poland would mean an isolated East Prussia, the cradle of the great Prussian State would be open to conquest by Poland or Russia.[1] Unthinkable!

The Reichstag was not minded to take such a drastic step without a protest, but Bismark reiterated that Polish affairs were the exclusive concern of Prussia, and when a member attempted to interpellate him, he walked out, followed by the ministers.

In the Landtag the leader of the Polish protest was Jazdzewski.[2] Bismark and Puttkamer were not disturbed by such discussions. They had convinced the King of its necessity and they knew he would support them to the limit.

Meanwhile the Poles in Posen prepared to combat this new threat. Although from 1886 to 1896 the Commission bought more than 100,000 acres[3] by 1888 the Poles were ready to begin their campaign of repurchase. They bought from Poles and Germans alike, and the larger properties were split up and redistributed to Polish farmers. Their purchasing agency was a bank founded for the purpose, and chief among the agents were an ex-school teacher, Kusztilan, a priest, Wawrzyniak, a country doctor, Rzepnikowski, and a lawyer, Thiel.[4]

Since the Church was no longer in danger, the clergy were free to devote themselves to purely national problems. They

1. Robertson,402; Simon,II,193.
2. Petzet,55; Trampe,306-353.
3. Petzet,53.
4. Poliakov,150-152; Dyboski, 51-52.
5. Poliakov,162.

now gave whole-hearted support in establishing banks and co-operative societies.[1] The largest of these was the Land Bank of Posen whose initial capital had been subscribed by the large landowners, industrialists, and prosperous tradespeople. The Government was much chagrined when in later years it was compelled to extend to it the same privileges granted to German banks of a similar nature by its own laws which permitted them State credit at three per cent, a rate much lower than it was possible to obtain in the open market.

The Polish proprietors had another method of circumventing the Settlement Commission. They often put up their own property for sale, received the inflated government price, and then bought up other estates at a lower figure, for redistribution among the peasantry. Sometimes the profits of such transactions were invested in small businesses to strengthen them in the boycotting German business. In other words such investment had the effect of a government subsidy such as Prussia paid her colonists to stay in the East.

As the boycott of German business and professionals began to take effect, the leaders urged the peasantry into a boycott of the German banks by putting their savings into those controlled by Poles. This pressure was later extended to Poles living in other parts of the empire. They too were urged to send their earnings home, to Posen where they could be used to advantage. The Prussian Government now required that the German colonists boycott all Polish enterprises in the hope bhat by crushing Polish economic life it would end the Polish peril.[2]

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1. Poliakov, 162. 2. Poliakov, 162-163.

The stratagem did not work, and if a few enterprises failed up the Government soon found the Pole like the proverbial bad penny turned up somewhere else where he shortly was able to create a little alien center, much as our own larger cities have foreign settlements. Before many years had passed the Government found that it had considerable colonies of Poles in Silesia, the Rhineland, and Westphalia.

In spite of the rigorous supplementary laws passed in the twentieth century, the Poles were still in control and adding more territory. The mistaken idea of the purpose of these measures entertained by some of the German colonists is illustrated by an incident told of Bethmann-Hollweg's visit to the East. The Chancellor stopped in one of the new villages to speak to a German colonist of whom he asked how he liked his new home. He received the naive reply: 'All right, except that we cannot yet sufficiently understand the Poles..... ..... But never mind, we shall learn Polish yet'.[1]

The Prussian Government was again doomed to disappointment. Its scheme did not work, and before the turn of the century the Government was forced to admit it. Some of the important factors Bismark had left out of consideration were: national unity, strengthened by the Kulturkampf; the tendency to breed faster than the Germans; the effect on the price of land of the Government as buyer; and the effect on the Germans themselves of being continually told they were or ought to act as a superior people. In the Germans it bred an arro-

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k, Dawson, Evolution of Modern Germany, 483-484.

gant and bullying spirit which the world came to classify as Prussian. The Poles, since they were being continually insulted and told they were inferior, they assumed the role and became past masters in the art of evasion.

To this same period seems to belong the changes that began to appear in the names of the villages, towns and cities, even streets. In some instances the names were spelled as a German would pronounce them, in others, a German word was found as a substitute. True to his word, on the slightest excuse officials were dismissed or transferred to other parts of Prussia. For instance, in the little community of Neustadt on the Warta, the Catholic children were taught by one Herr Janiechewski, beloved by the entire community. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, he was transferred to the South and was succeeded by a German, named Hahn. His term lasted about six or eight months because of his unwelcome attentions to the girls and his cruel floggings of the boys. He was succeeded by another German. Before long all the Polish judges had either died in office, been dismissed, or transferred.

It is difficult to surmise what might have been the fate of the Poles under Frederick III had he lived longer. One thing seems certain, he would have pressed the language question, for he did not know Polish, had refused to learn it, and would not have his son study it. He often said that he did not like the people, and since he would not use Polish, they would have to speak German.[1]

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1. Busch,II,Secret Pages,309.

The Policy of William II to 1900

William II's Church policy continued conciliatory because he feared a Russo-French alliance which the Pope seemed to favor,[1] and for that reason, too, feared to rouse too much opposition in the Polish territories. He made all his alien subjects welcome at Court, and with Bismark's dismissal and the appointment of Caprivi the Poles enjoyed a brief breathing space of another short ten years. The King's agreeableness was not due to any love of the Poles, but rather because Bismark had treated them so sternly, he desired to show that he could rule the country by methods quite in opposition to those of his former chancellor. The private teaching of Polish was permitted, religious instruction was once more in Polish wherever German was not well-known, and reading and writing lessons as connected with religious training were also in Polish.

The free movement of seasonal workers between all parts of Poland was conceded, and the cooperative societies were given their own inspectors. The work of the Settlement Commission was temporarily suspended, land prices fell, and the Government might have returned to its purchase policy at a distinct advantage.[2]

As a further concession to the Poles, the German Archbishop was dismissed in 1891 and Florian von Stablewski, whose public utterances of loyalty to the Prussian Crown had pleased William, was chosen his successor. In 1892 when the

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1. The Kaiser's Speeches, compiled by A. Oscar Klaussmann,55-6.
2. Zierkursch, Politische Geschichte des Neuen Deutschen Kaiserreiches, Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II,II,69; Kaiser's Speeches, November 1891, January,1892,60; Poliakov,157-158.

The Policy of William II to 1909

William III's German policy constituted conciliatory because he feared a Russo-French alliance which the Poles seemed to favor,[1] and for that reason, too, feared to cause too much opposition in the Polish territories. He made all his allies subjects welcome at Court, and with Bismarck's disinterest and the appointment of Count Ital the Poles enjoyed a brief breathing space of another short ten years. The King's appreciation was not due to any love of the Poles, but rather because Bismarck had treated them so severely, he desired to show that he could rule the country by methods quite in opposition to those of his former chancellor. The private teaching of Polish was permitted, religious instruction was once more in Polish where German was not well-known, and reading and writing lessons as connected with religious teaching were also in Polish.

The free movement of seasonal workers between all parts of Poland was conceded, and the cooperative societies were given their own languages. The work of the Settlement Commission was temporarily suspended, land purchases, and the Government might have returned to its previous policy at a distinct advantage.[2]

In a further concession to the Poles, the German Wordsworth was dismissed in 1907 and Florian von Stachowski, whose public utterances of loyalty to the Prussian Crown had pleased William, was chosen his successor. In 1908 when the

1. The Kaiser's speeches, compiled by A. Oncken, Kaiserreden.
2. Stachowski, Politische Beziehungen des Herzog Ernestus Kaiserreichs, Das Reichsland Elsass-Lothringen II, 80; Schiemann's Zeitschrift, November 1907, January 1908; Politisches Jahrbuch, 1909-1910.

Cardinal presented himself to take the oath of allegiance, the Emperor expressed his complete confidence in his ability to accomplish the task set him. The task was not easy, the deep scars left by the Kulturkampf would not readily disappear, yet the archbishop was not without influence in Posen and he labored untiringly to effect a reconciliation between Posen and Berlin. Bismark also was dubious of success as he told a group who visited him. The Balkan peoples had recently successfully revolted and the religious feeling of the Poles was easily offended, were the reasons he gave.

> 'Our Polish compatriots....are now for the first time in a hundred years the protegées of the Ministry. I do not believe that they will remain so for long; at least, not those who are the movers of the Polish agitation, the Polish nobility and clergy. I therefore ask myself the question which someone raised at Talleyrand's death: 'What did the old fox mean by dying just at that moment?' This is my attitude to the Polish movement and the German patriotism of the Polish nobility.'[1]

The apparent change of heart was demonstrated in their support of the fiercely debated army bill of 1893, which increased the size of the army, but diminished the length of the service. The Reichstag rejected it and was dissolved. The new one passed it. The Kaiser was so pleased that he sent a telegram of congratulation to the Koscielski on July 15 following its paggage.[2]

A new attempt to conciliate Rome and the Poles was made the following March by a visit of Prince Henry, the Emperor's brother, to the Vatican. A resolution was passed in the Reichstag favoring the repeal of the Jesuit laws, but it was

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1. Whitman,124-125; Robertson, 142-143. 2. Krueger,205; Kaiser's Speeches, 163; Zierkursch,II,64-66.

Cardinal presented himself to take the oath of allegiance, the Emperor expressed his complete confidence in his ability to reconcile the task set him. The task was not easy, the deep scars left by the Schlieffenpact would not readily disappear, yet the archbishop was not without influence in Poland and he laboured untiringly to effect a reconciliation between Poland and Berlin. Stresemann also was dubious of success as he told a group who visited him. The Belgian people had recently successfully revolted and the religious feeling of the Poles was easily offended, were the reasons he gave.

'Our Polish compatriots.... are now for the first time in a hundred years the protagons of the Wilhelstr. I do not believe that they will remain so for long; at least, not those who are the movers of the Polish agitation, the Polish nobility and clergy. I therefore ask myself the question which someone raised at Tailyrand's death: 'What did the old fox mean by dying just at that moment?' This is my attitude to the Polish movement and the German revitalism of the Polish nobility.'[1]

The apparent change of heart was demonstrated in their support of the fiercely debated army bill of 1933, which increased the size of the army, but diminished the length of the service. The Nationalists rejected it and was dissolved. The new one passed it. The Reich was so pleased that he sent a telegram of congratulation to the Reichstag on duly its following the passage.[2]

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1. Stresemann, 154-155; Anderson, 147-148. 2. Kruger, 200; Kelsey's Speeches, 150; Elsewood, 33, 44-46.

blocked in the Bundesrat, probably due to Chancellor Hohenlohe's speech of which Buelow wrote in his Memoirs:

> ".....he spoke eloquently against the idea of modifying, still more of abolishing, the laws against the Jesuits, laws which the Center party was fighting with renewed ardor.....he was filled with a distrust and a dislike of the Jesuits such as I have rarely found even amongst zealous Protestants. "He was sure it was they who had poisoned the Secretary of State, Franchi, ... After a mass which he had read in a Jesuit Church, a priest of the Order handed him a sherbert, and having drunk it, he died soon after in great abdominal pains". [1]

Under Hohenlohe, the reaction began to grow stronger encouraged by the lashes of the Ostmarkverein and the Hakatists who had organized at Friedrich's Ruhe in the Autumn of 1893 in preparation for the Fall elections. This organization, a 'Union for the Advancement of Germanism in the East Marks', led by three German ultra-conservative landowners of Posen, von Hansemann, von Kennemann, and von Tiedemann was bitterly attacked by a former Polish deputy in a pamphlet 'Our Affairs' (Nasza sprawa). Dr. Skarzynski wrote:

> "From the lips of German statesmen, the majority in the Reichstag, and the Press echoes the call in unison from the Rhine to the Warta: 'Kreuzigen, vernichten, ausrotten die widerspenstige polnische Nation.' Every emotion, religion, ethics, human knowledge, higher culture and civilization included must be stifled, in order to achieve from the viewpoint of reasons of State, allegedly useful works of the Germanization of the East Marks, at all costs; on these grounds and

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1. Buelow, I, Memoirs, 12-13.

for these reasons one of the allegedly civilized States of the world, which desires to be a leader of Humanity toward an ever higher culture, creates a truly Dante-like Hell for two million of its three million subjects, and has placed over the entrance the inscription: 'Poloni! Lasciate ogni speranza!!"

Further on in the pamphlet he declared:

"The Prussian Government and the greater part of the German nation under the influence of Prince Bismark and the sign of the H.K.T. has decreed that Polonism within the limits of the German Empire shall be exterminated!"

He then went on to say that the Poles had no security of rights, that pledges were broken, judicial decisions overridden by Cabinet Orders, and that the Poles were excluded from all State positions. In the Purgatory the situation of the Poles in Prussia was changed, the Prussian Poles were united with the ten million Poles on the other side of the boundary in a common hatred of Germanism.

"The German Michael kneels on the breast of the Pole, throttles him, tears out his tongue, and then demands more love!" 1

For this attack the doctor was fined three hundred marks by the criminal court of Posen. The prosecution of the Polish press began again and was carried on with increasing relentlessness. The editors were called to account and their papers

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1. Petzet, 24-25.

were one by one suppressed, condemned or fined.[1] Such treatment only increased the violence of the attacks, such as a few extracts from the Gazeta Grudziazka will indicate:

> 'Preussen schlaegt der Civilisation eigentlich unausgesetzt mit der Faust ins Gesicht!'
>
> 'Die schaendliche Germanisierung durch die Kirche, worueber mit die Satane im Hoellenrache freuen, hat unsere Kirche schon manche schreckliche Wunde beigebracht.'
>
> 'Schon oft hat sich gezeigt, dass wir beim zusammengehen mit Preussen schlecht fahren; fuer uns ist das Beste wenn wir es wie eine Seuche, wie Pestluft meiden.'[2]

With the failure of Cardinal Stablewski to bring about a peace between Prussia and Posen, the Settlement Commission again took up its task, establishing larger German estates than had hitherto been permitted.[3] William II had by this time lost patience with the extremists among the Poles. He issued his first warning at Koenighsberg and later at Thorn he said:

> 'I hope that the Polish citizens of Thorn will conduct themselves in accordance with what I said at Koenigsberg. Only if we stand shoulder to shoulder like a phalanx is it possible for us to carry on the struggle with the Revolution to a victorious end.'[4]

The extremist propaganda preceding the Fall elections was effective both in the Prussian Diet and in the Imperial parliament, the number of conservatives returned increased, and depolonization was resumed. The liberalization of the franchise did not affect the Poles since any assessing official in a community could refuse to assess a citizen the amount required to qualify him as an elector.[5] The concessions made to the Poles were repealed, Polish was banished from all spheres of

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1. Petzet,22-24, 25,26. 2. Petzet,24.
3. Petzet,57-60; Lutosanski,I,709. 4. The Kaiser's Speeches,70.
5. Dawson,Municipal Life and Government,277-278.

public life again, the Germanization of names was resumed, and the Polish national colors were removed from the coat of arms, which now appeared only in the black and white of Prussia. The laws of exception which had been promulgated against the Socialists were turned against the Poles,[1] and the Hakatists urged the prosecution of all lecturers who dared address the people in Polish.

All the organs of opposition to Prussia which the Poles had invented renewed their attacks, and a war of mutual extermination was in preparation. In 1895 a new Land Bank was established, and in ten years the Germans had lost about 125,000 acres to the Poles.[2] In 1897 a Polish radical journal dared to bring up the language question again. It demanded Polish throughout the elementary grades, Polish in the administrative sphere, the unification of all Prussian Polish territory under a royal governor, the repeal of all special legislation, and the fixing of penalties for the persecution of Poles or their nationality.[3]

Bismark again expressed the sentiment of the Government:

> 'Prussia is the legal proprietor of that part of the Polish Kingdom incorporated in her realm. The Polish provinces, like all the others, are not mere appendages of the Prussian State organism. All the protests against this fact and educed from the Treaties are null and void, baseless and illogical; and the Deputies who advance them have no authority from their electors to do so. The possession of these provinces is necessary

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1. Dawson, Evolution of the German Empire, 351,478,484,486; Zierkursch, II, 78-79.
2. Dawson, Evolution of the German Empire, 478-479.
3. Dawson, Evol. of the German Empire, 493; Fife, Ch.12; Eversley, 311-312,328.

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Bismarck again expressed the sentiment of the government:

> 'Prussia is the legal proprietor of that part of the Polish Kingdom incorporated in her realm. The Polish provinces, like all the others, are not mere appendages of the Prussian State organism. All the products against this fact and abuse from the Prussian are null and void. Peasants and filigrees, and the lawyers who advance them have no authority from their clients to do so. The possession of these provinces is necessary

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1. Dawson, Evolution of the German Empire, 321,474,484,488; Clarkson, II, 78-79.
2. Dawson, Evol. of the German Empire, 403; Fife, Op.101; Everling, 311-312,322.

to Prussia. Not to recognize in it the right of conquest is to be oblivious to Polish history.... It resurrection is impossible, as involving the domination of six or seven millions of people over three times that number of human beings belonging to other nationalities as well as the disintegration of three European first class States. As far as the majority of Prussia's Polish population is concerned, its culture has proved a blessing....which is gratefully acknowledged by many Poles.....

'It is fortunate for Polish patriotism.....that it has not the power to put its whims into execution; for it would inevitably ruin its people and country again.'[1]

With the appointment of Buelow to the Chancellorship in 1900 a complete return to the policy of Bismark was assured. In his Memoirs is a clear exposition of his position.[2] The resourcefulness of the Poles was not, however at an end. Wawrzyniak established the Rolniki. These exchanges bought Polish agricultural produce at a high price, but sold agricultural and other necessities at a low price. The repurchase of property was continued so that by 1900 only fifteen of the sixty-four districts in Posen and West Prussia showed territorial losses not yet repaired. The other districts showed gains. To combat this threat Buelow had a number of supplementary laws[3] passed such as forbidding the dividing of Polish estates for the benefit of the Polish peasants, prohib-

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1. Busch, II, Our Chancellor, 166-167; Kaiser's Speeches, 137, June 5, 1902 the Emperor expressed similar sentiments.
2. Appendix 184-188.
3. Poliakov, 163, 171.

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With the appointment of Pilsudski to the Commander-in-Chief, a complete return to the policy of Piłsudski was ensured. In his Memoirs is a clear exposition of his position.[2] The reconstructions of the Poles was not, however, an end. Everywhere established the minority. These exchanges brought Polish agricultural produce at a high price, but said agricultural and other necessities at a low price. The expropriation of property was continued so that by 1922 only fifteen of the sixty-four districts in Poznań and West Prussia showed territorial losses not yet regained. The other districts showed gains. In conflict this forced Danzig had a number of conciliatory laws passed such as forbidding the dividing of Polish estates for the benefit of the Polish peasants, prohibi-

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1. Dmowski, III, Jan Ossowski. 2. Appendix 164-169. 165-167; Sikorski's Speeches. 3. Pilsudski, 166, 177. 167. June 6, 1922 the Reparations expressed similar sentiments.

iting the erection of new buildings without permission, and the purchase of adjacent lots. The final blow was the Expropriation law of 1908 the final details of which were being worked out when the World War pushed such concerns into the background. By that law Polish proprietors were to be compelled to sell their estates whenever the Government was prepared to buy.

SUMMARY

During the last two centuries of subjection to the Prussian Government the Poles had two bitter enemies, Bismark and Buelow, whose acts were inspired by what they conceived to be their duty to the State. The opposition to Polonism by the administrative officials was dominated by fear for their positions and zeal for promotion with the possibility of a fair pension at the end of their careers. The German conservatives, like conservatives everywhere suffered from provincial narrowness carried over into the national sphere. They were the 100% Germans with the superiority complex, and if they developed a deep seated hatred of the Poles, it may have been due to some unsatisfactory relation with them. Whatever the cause, it was promoted and developed by the exaggerated fears of Bismark and Buelow advertised in speeches and in the press as a matter of policy. These two gentlemen suffered from a weakness of old school diplomacy. That is, they magnified the difficulties to prove to the world their own greatness and ability to over-

come them. The Poles also suffered from a disease, a disease common to all subject people who have been alternately caressed and cuffed over a long period of years. They too tended to magnify their sufferings; in this respect they might be classed with the Jews and the Irish; when one is oppressed he howls for the race.

Aside from the small minority in public office, there seems to have been little interest in the Poles or Germans by the one for the other, except as it was momentarily roused by the makers of news with an axe to grind. Their opinions were formed according to personal inclination and the journal each happened to favor. Outside of official circles there was little or no understanding of the issues at stake and the Germans were as much at the mercy of their papers as were the Poles, the only difference probably being that the latter were more given to believe what they were told, much as the gullible American is.

Prussia's Polish policy was to a large extent dictated by Russia's Polish policy and fear for the security of East Prussia. From 1815 to 1840 the two policies were very similar. Between 1840 and 1850 the forces of liberalism in Germany became too strong for Frederick William while Russia suffered from no such growth. Prince William although opposed to his brother's policy accepted it because he was a Hohenzollern with centuries of the tradition of family solidarity and submission to the will of the superior or head of the House. He could not revolt against his brother because his brother was King and he, a soldier. As a soldier and a Hohenzollern, he could not oppose with force an institution which his divinely appointed

brother had called into being, when it refused to vote his military budget. Then the crafty Bismark with his extraordinary ability to rationalize came to the rescue and convinced him that the assertion of his prerogatives was quite in keeping with the traditions of the family. Bismark seems never to have forgotten his service at that critical period, and as he grew in power he assumed a more domineering tone although careful not to carry it too far. This sense of his importance to the State and the power he wielded is a dominant note in his Memoirs. He seems to have felt himself indispensible, and the fact that William II never fell into difficulties which necessitated his recall, wounded him deeply.

The period of Bismark's supremacy brought out all the meanness and arrogance in his character. His belief in his superiority often led him to underrate the ability of others. Because the Poles had made a conspicuous failure of government prior to 1772 he refused to recognize the achievements of the Constitution of 1791. Rather he deliberately chose to consider them an inferior people in all respects and as proof of his low esteem of them, often publicly addressed them in insulting terms. That he did great things for Germany no one will deny, but that he belittled those accomplishments by his treatment of subject peoples is equally true. His Polish policy directed to creating a solid German people from the Rhine to the Russian boundary was a miserable failure.

The policy of conciliation which followed was too sudden

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The policy of conciliation which followed was too sudden

and opposition to it almost immediately developed. William II had little patience and could not brook opposition. Conciliation failed. Too great results were expected in too short a time. The reaction of the twentieth century seemed about to accomplish its purpose when the World War broke on an amazed world. If Governments ever learned from past failures, Prussia's failure in her treatment of the Poles could teach much, i.e. that to gain the love and respect of a cultured people by force is impossible; to interfere with their most cherished traditions, customs, or loyalties is like disturbing a hornet's nest; and to attempt to legislate a race out of existence is preposterous. Fear and perhaps contempt is created if arrogance and brutality are the means used in attempting to win respect and obedience.

Treaty of Partition between Poland and Prussia, September 8, 1773

Au nom de la Tres-Sainte Trinite

Soit notoire a quiconque appartient comme S.M. le Roi de Prusse a fait declarer à S.M.le Roi de la République de Pologne par un mémoire exhibe à Varsovie, au moi de setembre de l'année passé, qu'elle se croyait autorisée et était résolue de revendiquer Ses droits et prétentions sur le Pommeranie polonaise et sue d'autres districts de la Pologne, et qu'en conséquence du concert prise entre Elle et L.L.M.M. l'Impératrice-Reine de Hongrie et de Bohéme et l'Impératrice de Russe, qui se trouvent dans le même cas d'avoir des prétentions à la charge du Royaume de Pologne, Sa dite Majesté Prussienne a fait un même temps prendre possession de la Prusse et de la Pommeranie polonaise et des districts sur la Netze; comme d'un autre côte S.M. le Roi de République de Pologne ont fortement protesté contre cette occupation les provinces susnommées, il en est resulté des différends et des contestations entre les deux États, qui auraient pu altérer et interrompre leur tranquillité et harmonie réciproque. Pur prevenir donc les suites préjudiciables d'une pareille mis intelligence, les deux Parties sont convenues de faul ouvrir des conférences le pacificateur à Varsovie à une Diète extraordinaire, indiquee pour cet effet et augre du desir de trois Cours alliiés, et d'y faire travailler a un accommodement de ces différends par des plenipotentiaires et commissaires autorisés de part et d'autre,.....

Article I Peace and Amity

Article II Territory ceded by Poland

Pour obvier à toutes les disputes qui pourraient naître à l'avenir et pour abolir de part et d'autre toutes les prétentions de quelque nature qu'elles puissent être, S.M. le Roi de Pologne tant pour Elle que pour Ses successeurs, et les Ordres et les États généraux du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand- Duché de Lithuanie cèdent par la présent traité irrevocablement à perpetuité, sans aucun retour ni reservations dans aucun cas imaginable, à S.M. le Roi de Prusse, Ses héritiers et successeurs de l'un et de l'autre sexe, les provinces, palatinats, et districts que Sa dite Majesté a

fait préalablement occuper en vertu de ses dites patentes du 13 Septembre de l'année passé, comme un équivalent de Ses prétentions, et nommément toute la Pomerelie, la ville de Dantzig avec son territoire exceptes, de même que le districts de la Grande Pologne, en deçu de la Netze, en tangeant longeant cette rivière depuis la frontière de la Nouvelle Marche jusqu'à la Vistule près de Fordon et Salitz de sorte que la Netze ou Notec, fasse la frontière des États de S.M. le Roi de Prusse, et que cette rivière Lui appartienne en entiere; et Sa dite Majesté, ne voulont pas faire valoir ses autres prétentions sur plusieurs autres districts de la Pologne limitrophes de la Silesie et de la Prusse, qu'Elle pourrait reclamer avec justice, et se desistant en même temps de toute prétention sur la ville de Dantzig et sur son territoire. Elle se contente S.M. le Roi de la République de Pologne Lui cèdent, en guise d'equivalent rest de la Prusse polonaise, nommément; la palatinat de Marienbourg, la ville d'Elbing y comprise, avec l'évêche de Warmie et le Palatinat due Culm ou Chelmno, sous en rien excepter que la ville de Thorn, laquelle ville sera conservé avec tout son territoire a la Pologne. S.M. le Roi de Pologne et les Ordres et États du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand Duché de Lithuanie cèdent a S.M. le Roi de Prussie, Ses héritiers, et Ses successeurs, tous ces pays ce-dessus enomées, avec toute propriété, souveraintè et indépendence, avec toutes les villes, fortresses et villages, avec tous les havres, rodes et rivières, avec tous les vassaux, sujets et habitants, lesquels Ils

degagent en meme temps de l'hommage et du serment de fidelité qu'ils ont prête à sa Majesté à la Couronne de Pologne, avec tous les droits, tant pour le civil et politique que pour le spirituel, et en général avec tout ce qui appartient à la souverainte de ces pays; et Ils promettent de se former jamais, ni sous aucun prétexte, aucune prétention sur les provinces cedées par le présent traité. On nommera de part d'autre, incessament des commissaires qui seront chargé de regler, définitivement et d'unemaniere plus exact, les limits des provinces que le Serenissime Roi et la République de Pologne cèdent a S.M. le Roi de Prusse et d'endresser des cartes exactes.

Article III Poland renounced Article VI of the Treaty of Wehlau of September 19, 1657 as well as Articles VII to XXII of the same treaty.

Article IV Poland renounced her feudal rights to Launenberg and Bretow, gave up the Convention of Bydgoszcz of November 6, 1657, and the rights it gave her to Draheim.

Article VI Reciprocal guarantee of territory

Article VII Prussia to use good offices in Poland's Turkish relations.

Article VIII On the Roman Catholics

Article IX On the new constitution

Article X On the validity and force of the treaty of commerce to be drawn up

Article XI On reciprocal commercial advantages

Article XII On Danzig

Article XIII For the settlement of differences on boundary questions

dépouiller en même temps de l'immunité et du pouvoir de législation qu'elle avait reçus à la Pologne à la Conférence de Pologne, avec sans les droits, tout comme le civil et politique que pour le spirituel, et en général avec tout ce qui appartient à la souveraineté. Ce sera peut-être le premier de ce genre. Jamais, et nous aurons probablement, aucune prédication aux les Prétentions cadrées par le présent traité. Un membre de cette dialectique, lorsqu'avant des conséquences qui auront chargé de sa défense, particulièrement et d'une manière plus exact, les limites des provinces que le Gouvernement Roi et la République de Pologne ouvert à S.M. le Roi de France et d'autrement des sacrifice exposés.

Article III Poland renounced Article VI of the Treaty of Vienna of September 19, 1801 as well as Articles VII to XIII of this same treaty.

Article IV Poland renounced her feudal rights to Warmbrunn and Lowen, save to the Government of Prussia of November 6, 1807, and the rights it gave her to Danzig.

Article VI: Inalienable guarantee of territory

Article VII Russia to use good offices in Poland's foreign relations.

Article VIII On the Roman Catholics

Article IX On the new constitution

Article X On the validity and force of the treaty or compact to be drawn up

Article XI On reciprocal commercial advantages

Article XII On Danzig

Article XIII For the settlement of differences in boundary questions

Article XXV On the evacuation of Polish territory by Prussian troops

Article XVI Ratification within six weeks of signature

Second Partition September 1793

Article II

..... d'établir cet heureux système d'union et d'amitié sur une base d'autant plus solide il à été jugé convénable et necessaire de fixer et déterminer les limitié que separeront L'avenir à jamais les Etats de S.M. le Roi de Prussi et ceux du Royaume de Pologne. En conséquence de quoi, S.M. le Roi de Pologne tant pour Lui que Ses successeurs, et les Ordres et États du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand Duché de Lithuanie, cèdent par le présent traité, irrevocablement et à perpetuité, sans aucun retour ni reserve quelconque, à S.M. le Roi de Prusse, Ses héritiers....., les palatinats, villes, et districts dont Sa dite ajeste à pris possession en vertu de lettres patentes du 25 mars de l'annee courante, et qui son fixées par le présent traité dans la ligne à commencer de la frontière de la Silesia, en passant a une liene au-dessus de Czenstowschowa, longeant à droite jusqu'à la Pilica, peu au-dessus de Koniecpol, comme l'occupation en à été faite au confluent de la petite riviére de Bialu venant de Lelow, longeant ensuite la riviere de Pilica jusqu'a Grottowice. De la, un ligne droite sur Sachaczwe, qui laisse Rawa a une demi liene d'allemagne à gauche, et jusqu'à un liene on de la de la ville de Raiva on trouve par un angle droit la petite rivière de Skierniewka, sutrement nommée Ilzowka, jusqu'à l'endroit ou elle se joint à la riviére de Brzura qu'on suite encore jusqu'a la Vistule vis-à-vis de Wyszogrod; de cette dernière ville, une ligne droite forme la frontiere

Décret statutaire décembre 1964

Article II

..... d'établir des bureaux spéciaux d'union et d'autorisation d'autant plus utile il a été jugé convenable et nécessaire de fixer et déterminer les limites que nécessitent l'avenir à jamais les Etats du S.M. le Roi de France et sont du Royaume de Pologne. En conséquence de quoi, S.M. le Roi de Pologne tient pour lui que ses successeurs, et les Ordres et états du Royaume de Pologne et du Grand Duché de Lithuanie, cohabit par la présente traité, irrévocablement et à perpétuité, sans aucun retour ni réserve quelconque, à S.M. le Roi de France, des curtilées ..... les palatinats, villes, et districts dont la dite cédée à prix possession en vertu de lettres patentes du 25 mars de l'année courante, et qui sont fixées par la présent traité dans la ligne à commencer de la frontière de la Kiovie, en passant à une ligne sur-Dnieper de Gomphoscodowa, longeant à droite jusqu'à la Pripet, rive-bornée de Kartogol, cette limitation ou à ete faite au confluent de la petite rivière de Mlaly venant de Lujne, longeant ensuite la rivière de Pripet jusqu'à Dvostrotine. De là, un ligne droite sur Dachnowo, est laisse dans a son dest ligne d'affilagne à gauche, et jusqu'à un ligne ou de la de la ville de Galve on trouve par un angle droit la petite rivière de Sidzerniewa, autrement nommée Jlawka, jusqu'à l'endroit qu'elle se joint à la rivière de Lesna qu'on suit encore jusqu'à la Vistule vis-a-vis du Grand-de cette dernière ville, une ligne droite forme la frontière

jusqu'à Dzialdow (Soldow), de la rive droite des dites rivieres de Pilica et Skierniewka, autrement Jezowka, et de Brzura, reste à la Pologne, la rive gauche à la Prusse, et laisse la navigation susdite riviere libre pour les sujets des deux Etats qu'aucun parte ne puise jamais, entreprendre aucun ouvrage pour détourner le cours actuel de ces rivière. Dans les endroits ou la commission de démarcation trouverait les marques des frontieres de la prise de possession autrement placées, elle aura à les faire poser selon la susdite fixation, S.M. le Roi et la Royaume de Pologne cèdent, en outre, aussi, les villes de Dantzig et de Thorn, avec leurs territoires réspectifs. S.M. le Roi de Pologne ..... abandonnent à S.M. le Roi de Prusse.....tous les pays ci-dessus nommée, avec toute propriété, souveraintè....., avec toutes les villes, fortresses....., avec tous les havres..... lesquels ils degagent en meme temps de l'homage....., avec tous les droits pour le civil et la politique que pour le spirituel et en general avec tout a qui appertient a la souveraintè; promettant de la manière la plus positive et la plus solonnelle, de ne jamais former directement ou indirectment, sous quelque prétexte que ce sort, aucun pretention quelconque sur les pays et districts cèdes par le présent traité.....

Article III Prussia renounced all claims to what is left and guananteed Poland in its possession.

Article IV Poland renounced what it had ceded.

Article V On the rights of the Catholics

Article VI Guarantee of the Constitution of the Diet of Grodno

Article VII New commercial treaty to be drawn up.

Jaeger's Tailoring (London), de la rive droite des deux rivières de Villes et Kikurikawa, actuellement Yokohama, et de Dragons, reste à la Pologne, la rive gauche à la France, et laisse la navigation sur les rivières libre pour les sujets des deux Etats qui auront droit de prendre langue, entreprendre aucun commerce pour déterminer le cours actuel de ces rivières. Sur les endroits où la connaissance de démarcation traversent les surfaces des frontières de la zone de possession extraterritoriale, elle aura à les faire passer selon la subdite frontière. S.M. le Roi et la Nation de Pologne cède à S.M. le Roi de France et Empereur des Français, tous les pays ci-dessus nommés, avec toute propriété, souveraineté ..... avec toutes les villes, forteresses ..... avec tous les peuples ..... lesquels ils dépendent en même temps de l'Europe ..... avec tous les droits pour le civil et la politique sur pour le spirituel et en général avec tout ce qui appartient à la souveraineté, promettant de la manière la plus positive et la plus solennelle, de ne jamais former aucun traité directement, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, aucun traités quelconque sur les pays et districts donnés par le présent traité.....

Article III Prussia renounced all claims to what is left and guaranteed Poland in its possession.

Article IV Poland renounced what it had ceded.

Article V On the rights of the Catholics

Article VI Guarantee of the constitution of the Diet of Grodno

Article VII New commercial treaty to be drawn up.

Third Partition October 24, 1795

Convention between Russia, Prussia and Austria

Article II

S.M. l'Empéreur des Romains, par une suite de Son Amitié pour S.M. Prussienne se desiste en Sa faveur de la pointe la terrain qui s'étend en ligne droite depuis Swidrey sur la Vistule jusqu'au confluent du Bug et du Narew, de manière que tout ce district sera compris dans le lot qui d'après le dispositif de la même declaration, doit echoir en partage a S.M. Prusienne, et d'an S.M. Imperials Lui garantit pareillement la possession et la jouissance perpetuité.

Article III

Le démarcation des limites futures entre les États de l'Autriche et de la Prusse au côté du palatinat de Cracovie restant indecise, et les deux Parties contractantes, animées d'une intention réciproque de la voir règle d'une manière convenable à la sureté d'une frontière nette, commode et a l'abolir de toute invasion, on est convenu qu'elle seront determiné et fixée amicablement par des commissaires demarcateurs qui seraient envoyés sur les lieux de part de d'autre et auxquels S.M. Imperiale de toutes les Russes en ferait adjoindre un de Sa part, pour servir de concilateur et d'arbittre en cas dédifferences d'avis entre les commissaires des Parties intéressées, celles-ci, pu une suite de Leurconfiance dans l'impartialité de S.M. Imperiale et dans Son égale amitié pour Elles, promettent et s'engageant à déférer entièrement a Ses avis et a Ses decisions à cet égard. En outre, ~~il est~~

Third Partition October 24, 1792

Convention between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

Article II

S.M. l'Empereur des Russies, par une suite de son Traité pour S.M. Prussienne se déclare en sa faveur de la portée la terrain qui s'étend en ligne droite depuis Switzer sur la Vistule jusqu'au confluent du Eng et du Narew, de manière que tout ce district sera compris dans le lot qui d'après la disposition de la même déclaration, doit échoir en partage à S.M. Prussienne, et d'un S.M. Impériale lui garantit pleinement la possession et la jouissance perpétuelle.

Article III

Le démembrement des limites fixées entre les États de l'Autriche et de la France au côté du palatinat de Cracovie restant inchangé, et les deux Parties contractantes, animées d'une intention réciproque de la voir régle d'une manière convenable à la marche d'une frontière nette, ouverte et à l'abrit de toute invasion, on est convenu qu'elle seront déterminés et fixés ultérieurement par des commissaires désignés qui seraient envoyés sur les lieux de part de l'autre et auxquels S.M. Impériale de toutes les Russies en ferait adjoindre un de sa part, pour servir de conciliateur et d'arbitre en cas de différences élevés entre les commissaires des Parties intéressées, celles-ci, par une suite de l'amendement dans l'équivalité de S.M. Impériale et dans son égale estime pour Elles, promettent et s'engagent à déterer entièrement à ses vues et à ses décisions à cet égard. En outre, la cour

il est convenu que tout l'ouvrage de cette demarcation sera achévé dans l'espece de trois mois à date du jour de la signature du présent traité. En attendont, tout le territoire, marque sur la carte de Zanani par une ligne tracée depuis ou la rivière de Sda se jette dans la Vistule entre Garzow et Groniec, passe en diagonale par Krzeszowice, se prolonge ensuite, en cotoyant et en laissant à sa droite les villes de Skalu et de Miechow, et puis aboutit a Zarnowiec sur la Pilica d'ou elle poursuit le cours de cette riviere, restera occupé par les troupes de S.M. Prussienne jusqu'a ce que l' ouvrage de la démarcation. La question soit achéve et confirmee d'après la règle ci-dessus établie.

Napoleon to the Poles from Berlin November 19, 1906

.....quant je verrai 30,000 a 40,000 hommes sur pied, je déclarerai a Varsovie votre indépendence, et quant je l'aurai dit, elle sera immuable. Je suis bien loin de chez moi. Je ne puis pas faire verser le seul sang de mes soldats; il faut que les Polonais se réunissent pour combattre a cote de mes troupes.

Unissez-vous, que les factions intérieures cessent, et que le passe dont vous avez victimes vous serve d'example pour l'avenir. C'est le seul moment pour vous de révendiquer votre nation. Votre sort est entre vos mains. J'ai donné des ordres que les Polonais qui son en Italie et ailleurs se réunissent à vous. Aujourd'hui ou demain mes troupes entrent a Varsovie.

Il est convenu que tout l'ouvrage de notre démocratie sera achevé dans l'espace de trois mois à dater du jour de la mise-nature du présent traité. En attendant, tout le territoire compris sur la carte de Bessel par une ligne tracée depuis la rivière de Gila en passant dans la Vieille entre Durcon et Frontin, passe en diagonale par Arassowice, en prolongeant ensuite, au nord-est et en laissant à sa droite les villes de Saalb et de Kiewkow, et puis coupant à Kiewkow sur la rivière d'un nom-portant le cours de cette rivière, restera occupé par les troupes du S.S. Présidium jusqu'à ce que l'ouvrage de la démocratie. La question soit achevé et soumises d'après la règle ci-dessus énoncée.

Napoleon to the Poles from Berlin November 19, 1808

.....quant je verrai 30,000 à 40,000 hommes sur pied, je déclarerai à Varsovie votre indépendance, et quand je l'aurai dit, nulle main humaine, de cette ville jusqu'à moi. De ce jour-là votre Varsovie ne sera plus de nos ennemis; il faut que les Polonais se réunissent pour combattre à cette je mes troupes.

Dites-vous, que les Prussiens sont vaincus, et que je pense dont vous avez vivrions vous serez d'exemple pour l'avenir. Dites-le seul moyen pour vous de recouvrer votre nation. Vous avez cet avis via Kalisz. Il est donne des ordres que les Polonais qui sont en Italie et ailleurs se rendraient à vous. Ambassadeur on donnera des troupes autant à Varsovie.

Napoleon et Posen November 28, 1806

La France n'avait jamais réconnu les partages de la Pologne. Les évenéments de la guerre n'ayant amené dans ce pays, je trouve conformer à mes principes d'y recevoir les répresentants de L'antique Royaume de Pologne. L'illustre nation polonaise avait rendu les plus grands services a l'Europe entière, mais ses malheurs avaient ete le resultat de ces divisions intestines. Je ne puis promettre aux Polonais le rétablissement de leur independence parcequ'il ne depend que d'eux. Lorsqu'une grande nation compossée de plusieurs millions d'hommes veut etre indépendent, elle reussira toujours dans son entreprise comme Empereur des Français, je verrai toujours avec un vif intéret le trone de Pologne se relever et L'independence de cette grande nation assurer celle de ses voisins menaire par l'ambition demesurée de la Russie; mais cela dépend plus des Polonais que de moi. Si les prêtres, les nobles, et les bourgeois veulent faire causecommune et prennant la ferme resolution de triompher ou de mourir, je leur présage qu'ils triompherot, mais pour cela des discourse et des voeux steriles ne sufisent pas. Ce qui a été réversé par la force, ne peut-être rétabli que par la force; ce qui a été detruit par le defaut d'union ne peut-etre retablis que par l'union. Le principe politique qui a porte la France a disavouer le partage de la Pologne lui faisant désirer son rétablissement, les Polonais peuvent toujours compter sur ma protection.

Napoléon et Pasca. Novembre 28, 1803

La France n'avait jamais reconnu les partages de la Pologne. Les ex-sujets de la guerre n'égaux essaie dans ce pays, le trouve conformer à son principes d'y renvoyer les représentants de l'antique royaume de Pologne. L'illusion nation polonaise avait rendu les plus grands services à l'Europe entière, mais son enthousiasme éteint ses la réalisat de ces détaillons intérêtions. Ne se puis prometre aux Polonais le rétablissement de leur indépendance parce qu'il ne dépend que d'eux. Lorsqu'une grande nation composée de plusieurs millions d'hommes veut être indépendant, aujourd'hui toujours dans son entreprise comme dépendent des Français. Je vertel toujours avec un vif intérêt le trône de Pologne se relever et l'indépendance de cette grande nation sauvée de ses voisins conniés par l'exemple deux de la Russie; mais mais depend plus des Polonais que ils ont. Il les prêtres, les nobles, et les bourgeois veulent faire conséquences et prennent la force résolution de triompher ou de mourir. Je leur prédiqué qu'ils triompher, mais pour cela des dévoures et des vous sentiles se sulient pas. Ce qui a été trouvés par la force, ne peut-être retenu que par la force: ce qui a été décrété pour le défaut d'union ne peut-être rétablis que par l'union. Le principe politique qui a porté la France à désavouer le partage de la Pologne lui faisant désirer son rétablissement, les Polonais peuvent bouleverser compter sur ma protection.

Treaty of Tilsit 1807

(from Lutosanski, I, #171, p. 256)

Article IV Prussia received again .....the part of the Netze District north of the embankment .....from Driesen to Schneidemuehl and along a line from Schneidemuehl to the Vistula at Waldau, and following the limits of Bromberg, Upper, Lower and New Silesia with the county of Glatz.

Navigation on the Netze and the Bromberg canal from Driesen to the Vistula and back was free.

Polish Pomerania, the islands of the Nogat, the country right of the Nogat and the Vistula, west of old Prussia and north of the circle of Culm and Eremeland was the territory continuously held by Prussia since January 1, 1772: This block Prussia was also permitted to retain.

Article V The rest became the Duchy of Warsaw with the King of Saxony as its duke.

Article VI Danzig became a free city under the joint control of Prussia and Saxony although it continued to be governed by its own peculiar civil code.

Article VII Prussia undertook to establish a military road to connect Saxony and Warsaw.

Article VIII Free navigation on the Vistula

Article IX The territory returned to Russia

Article X Amnesty

Treaty of Tilsit 1807

(from Lutzenhart, I, 1171, s. 996)

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Article VII Prussia undertook to establish a military road to connect Saxony and Warsaw.

Article VIII Free navigation on the Vistula

Article IX The territory returned to Russia

Article X Amnesty

Treaty of Vienna between Russia and Prussia May 3, 1815

Article I

La Partie du Duché de Varsovie, que S.M. le Roi de Prusse possèdera en toute souveraintè et propriété pour Lui et Ses successeurs; sous le titre de Grand Duché de Posen, sera comprise dans en ligne suivante:

En partant de la frontière de la Prusse orientale au village de Neuhoff, la nouvelle limite suivra la frontière de la Prusse occidentale, telle qu'elle a subiste depuis 1772 jusqu'a la paix de Tilsit, jusqu'au village de Leibitsch qui apparttiendra au Duche de Varsovie; de la il sera tiré une ligne qui en laissant Konpania, Grabowiec, et Szczytne à la Prusse, passe la Vistule auprés de ce dernier endroit, de l'autre côté de la rivière qui tombe vis-a-vis de Szczytne dans la Vistule jusqu'a l'aucune limite du districte de la Netze auprés de Gross-Opoczko de manière que Sluzewo appartiendra au Duche, et Przybranowa, Hallaender, et Macieiewo à la Prusse. De Gross-Opoczko on passera par Chleweska qui restera a la Prusse, au village de Przybyslaw, et de la, par les villages Praski, Chelnce, Witowlezki, Kobylenka, Woyczyn, Orchowo, jusqu'à la ville de Powidz. De Powidz on continuera, par la ville de Slupce, jusqu'à point du confluence des rivières Warta et Prosna. De ce point on remontra le cours de la rivière Prosna jusqu'au village Koscielnawies à une liene de la ville de Kaliscz.

Treaty of Vienna between Russia and Prussia day [illegible]

Article I

L'ex Partie du Duché de Varsovie, que S.M. le Roi de Prusse possédera en toute souveraineté et propriété pour lui et ses successeurs, sous le titre de Grand Duché de Posen, sera comprise dans en ligne suivante:

En partant de la frontière de la Prusse orientale au village de Geolcff, la nouvelle limite suivra la frontière de la Prusse occidentale, telle qu'elle a subsisté depuis 1772 jusqu'à la paix de Tilsitt, jusqu'au village de Lobisch qui appartiendra au Duché de Varsovie; de là il sera tiré une ligne qui en laissant Kampenla, Gracowiec, et Szczytno à la Prusse, sera la Vistule auprès de ce dernier endroit. L'autre coté de la rivière qui tombe vis-à-vis de Szczytno dans la Vistule jusqu'à l'angle ouest limite du district de la Petite Pologne de Cross-Opoczko de manière que Biurowo appartiendra au Duché, et Przybkowo, Dalisseder, et Kociewo à la Prusse. De Cross-Opoczko on passera par Colewska qui restera à la Prusse, au village de Przybiem, et de là, par les villages Praski, Chalino, Wiczlewki, Kobylaske, Koycyro, Orchowo, jusqu'à la ville de Pomis. De Pomis on continuera, par la ville de Slupce, jusqu'à point du confluence des rivières Warta et Prosna. De ce point on remontra le cours de la rivière Prosna jusqu'au village Sosciolanice à une lieue de la ville de Kalisz.

Là, laissant a cette ville(du côté de la rive gauche de la Prosna) une territoire en demi circle méserere sur la distance qu'il y à de Koscielnowies a Kalisz, on rentrera dans le cours de la Prosna, et l' on continuera à la rivière en remontant par les villes Grabow, Wieruszono, Baleslawie, pour terminer la ligne près du village Gola à la frontiere de la Silesie, vis à vis de Pitschin.

(Note: On November 11, 1817 the details of the boundary were settled. Prussie received the circle of Jemdin and its dependencies; on July 24, 1819 Prussia was awarded the village of Smolniki, and part of the forest of Ciechocinek, the mill of Kut, the village of Stuzieniec and the village and colony of Ciosna; March 4, 1835, the boundary between Silesia and Posen was drawn; and on December 20, 1837 the East Prussian frontier was settled.)

Article III

Paragraph 2 Les Polonais, sujets réspectifs de la Russe et L'Austriche et la Prusse obtiendront une representation et des institutions nationale regles d'après la mode d'existance politique que chacun des gouvernements auxquels ils appartiensent jugera et convenable de leur accorder.

Article IV

Les habitants et propriétairs des pays dont la separation à lieu en conséquence du present traité, s'ils voulaient se fixer dans un autre gouvernement, auront, pendant six ans, la liberte de disposer de leurs proprietes, meuble, ou immeubles de quelque nature qu'elles soient de les vendre de quitter le pays et d'exporter le produit de ces ventes, en argent comtant on en funds d'autres natur, sans empêchement ni détraction quelconques.

Article V and VI Amnesty

Article VIII On property

Article IX On choice of domicile

Article X On the domicile of minors, etc.

Article XI Penalty for neglect to declare change or residence

Article XII Time limit for such change

Article XIII Prerogatives of those owning property in more than one State

Article XIV Force of arrangements

Article XV Time limit of arrangements

Article XVI Inheritance to mixed properties

Article III

Paragraph 2 Les Polonais, sujets respectifs de la Russie et L'Autriche et la Prusse obtiendront une représentation et des institutions nationales régies d'après la mode d'existence politique que chacun des gouvernements auxquels ils appartiennent jugera et convenable de leur accorder.

Article IV

Les habitants et propriétaires des pays dont la séparation a lieu en conséquence du présent traité, s'ils voulaient se fixer dans un autre gouvernement, autant, pendant six ans, la liberte de disposer de leurs propriétes, meuble, ou immeubles de quelque nature qu'elles soient de les vendre de quitter le pays et d'exporter le produit de ces ventes, en argent comtant ou en fundis d'autres nature, sans convenement ni detraction quelconques.

Article V and VI Amenity

Article VIII On property

Article IX On choice of domicile

Article X On the domicile of minors, etc.

Article XI Penalty for neglect to declare change of residence

Article XII Time limit for such change

Article XIII Prerogatives of those owning property in more than one State

Article XIV Force of arrangements

Article XV Time limit of arrangements

Article XVI Inheritance to mixed properties

Article XVII Passports for visits to such properties

Article XVIII On properties divided by new frontiers

Article XIX Rights of those changing allegiance

Article XX Jurisdiction of the courts in mixed cases

Article XXI On estates on the river frontiers

Article XXII, XXIII, XXIV On navigation rights

Pour assurer davantage encore cette liberté de navigation, et en écarter toute entrance pour l'avenir, les deux hautes Parties contractantes sont convenues de n'établir qu'une seul espèce de droit de navigation; portant sur la capacité le jaugeage des vaisseaux on sur le poids de son chargement. Il sera porte à un taux tres modere, uniquement destiné à entretenir les fleuves et les canaux en question dans un état navigable. De droit, une fois approcuree par les deux Cours, ne pourra plus etre change que d'un common accord. Il ensera de meme a l'egard des bureaux a déterminer pour la perception de ce meme droit.

Si l'une des deux Puissances contractantes cependant faisait à ses frères l'établissement d'un nouveau cause les sujets de S.M.l'Empéreur de toutes les Russes ne pourront jamais être assujettes à ses droits de navigation plus élèves que ceux de S.M. le Roi de Prusse. Le réciprocité sera entière à cet égard.

Article XXV

En conséquence de principe admis dans l'article précédent tous les droits oneraux quelconques: d'entrepot, de rompre chargé, d'étape de non-allege et autres de pareille natur, qui

Pour assurer davantage encore cette liberte de navigation et en écarter toute entrave pour l'avenir, les deux hautes parties contractantes sont convenues de n'établir qu'une seule espèce de droit de navigation; portant sur la capacité la jauge des vaisseaux ou sur le poids de son chargement. Il sera porté à un taux très modéré, uniquement destiné à entretenir les fleuves et les cours en question dans un état navigable. De droit, une fois acquittée par les deux Cours, ne pourra plus être changé que d'un commun accord. Il mettra de même à l'égard des bureaux à déterminer pour la perception de ce même droit.

Si l'une des deux Puissances contractantes cependant faisait à son profit l'établissement d'un nouveau tarif sur les sujets de S.M.I. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies ne pourront jamais être assujettis à ses droits de navigation plus élevés que ceux de S.M. le Roi de Prusse. La réciprocité sera entière à cet égard.

Article XXV

En conséquence de principe établi dans l'article précédent tous les droits nouveaux quelconques; d'entrepôt, de transit, de charge, d'étape de non-allège et autres de pareille nature, qui

pourraient avoir existe contrairement à la liberté de la navigation des fleuves, rivières et canaux en question, dans toute leur étendue, seront aboli à jamais.

Article XXVI

Quant aux droits on privileges de quelques villes et leurs ports, qui pourraient donner atteinte aux droits de propriété et qui seraient, par conséquence adoptés, ils a ete convenu qu'ils seraient examiné par une commission composée de commissaires des deux Cours, pour convenir des abolition necessaires et pour procurer ainsi au commerce la liberté et l'activité nécessaires à sa propriété.

Les commissaires à déléguer pour cet objet seront nommés in cessament, et leur travail devra être terminé, vu, et approuvé, au plus tard, six mois apres la date de la ratification du présent traité.

Article XXVIII

Afin d'activer autant qui possible la culture dans toutes les parties de l'ancienne Pologne, d'exiter l'industrie des habitants, de consolider leur prospérité, les deux hautes Parties contractantes, pour ne laisser aucun doute sur leurs vues bienfaisantes et paternelles à cet égard, sont convenue de permettre a l'avenir et pour toujours entre toutes leurs provinces. Les commissaires nommes pour les arrangements a faire, conformement aux stipulations de l'article XXVI, seront charge également de convenir, dans la terme indique de six mois, un tarif d'apres lequel sera imposé le droit d'entrée et de sortie de toutes les productions de la natur, du sol, des

pourraient avoir action contraire à la liberté de la navigation des fleuves, rivières et canaux en question, dans toute leur étendue, seront abrogés à jamais.

Article XXVI

Comme aux termes du présent traité de paix vitale et loyale entre, qui contraient donner atteinte aux droits de propriété et qui seraient, par conséquence abusive, lieu à des conflits qu'il est préférable d'éviter par une commutation opportune de connaissances des deux Cours, pour convenir des abolition nécessaires et pour prendre ainsi en considération la liberté et l'activité nécessaires à la propriété.

Les commissaires à délégué pour cet objet auront accès à la [illegible], et leur travail devra être terminé, vu, et approuvé, au plus tard, six mois après la date de la ratification du présent traité.

Article XXVII

Afin d'éviter autant qu'possible la coupure dans toutes les parties de l'ancienne Pologne, d'éviter l'inhabitée des [illegible], ne considérer leur propriété, les deux hautes parties contractantes, pour ne laisser aucun doute aux leurs sans [illegible] et parentelles à cet égard, sont convenues de permettre à l'avenir et pour toujours aux [illegible] fidèles. Les commissaires nommés pour les arrangements à faire, conformément aux stipulations de l'article XXVI, auront charge également de convenir, dans le terme limité de six mois, un tarif d'après lequel sera lorsque le droit d'entrée et de sortie de toutes les productions de la nature, ou qui, [illegible]

manufactures et des fabriques des provinces mentionnée; ce droit ne pourra exceder dix pour cent de la valeur de la marchandise au lieu de son expedition. S'il convenit aux deux Cours d'établir un droit sur l'importation réciproque des grains, il sera règle sour le taux le moins onéraux par les mêmes commissaires, selon les instructions qui leur seront données. Pour obvier que des étrangers ne profitent des arrangements pris en faveus des provinces citee, il est arrete que tous les articles, produits de ces dernières qui passeront d'un gouvernement dans l'autre, seront accompagnes d'un certificat d'origine, sans quoi ils n'entreront pas. À défaut de celui du consul, s'il se trouvait trop éloigné, celui du magistrat du lieu sera admis.

Article XXIX

Quant au commerce de transit, il sera parfaitement libre dans toutes les parties de l'aucun Polonais. Il sera soumis au péage le plus modere. La même commission, indiquée aux articles XXVI and XXVIII determinera la mode d'apres lequel cette valeur devra etre constatée, et avisera aux moyens les plus surs pour éviter toute espèce de rétard dans les expeditions aux douanes ou d'autres vaxations de quelque nature qu'elles puissant être.

Article XXX

Les stipulations arrêtées dans les articles ce-dessus, relatifs au commerce et le navigation, ne pourront point souffrir d'application partiale. En conséquence, jusqu'a époque (qui ne pourra point passer le terme de six mois) ou le commission

manufactures et des fabriques des provinces contractantes; de droit de douane excédant dix pour cent de la valeur de la marchandise au lieu de son expédition. S'il convient aux deux Cours d'étendre un droit sur l'importation réciproque des grains, il sera réglé pour le taux le moins onéreux par les mêmes conditions, selon les instructions qui leur seront données. Pour éviter que des étrangers ne profitent des arrangements pris en faveur des provinces cités, il est arrêté que tous les articles, produits de ces dernières qui passeront d'une province en une l'autre, seront accompagnés d'un certificat d'origine, sans quoi ils n'entreront pas. A défaut de celui ou ceux-ci, s'il se trouvait trop éloigné, celui du magistrat du lieu sera suffit.

Article XXIX

Quant au commerce de transit, il sera parfaitement libre dans toutes les portées de l'union Polonaise. Il sera soumis au passe le plus modéré. Le même conditions, indiquées aux articles XXVI and XXVIII déterminera le mode d'après lequel cette valeur devra être constatée, et s'adresse aux moyens les plus sûrs pour éviter toute cause de retard dans les expéditions aux douanes ou d'autres vexations de quelque nature qu'elles puissent être.

Article XXX

Les stipulations arrêtées dans les articles ce-dessus, relatifs au commerce et la navigation, ne pourront point apporter d'application partielle. En conséquence, lorsque quelque (qui le pourra point passer le terme de six mois) de la convention

mentionné aura terminé son travail, le nagication continuera sur le pied ou elle se trouvait dans les derniers temps. A l'egard du commerce d'importation, chacun des gouvernements adoptera, pendant cet époque intermédiaire, les mésures qu'il jugera convenables.

Articles XXXI-XXXVIII On debts

Articles XXXVIII On the restoration of the archives

Articles XXXIX On the restoration of the deposits taken at Koenigsberg for security; also on the separation of the administrative acts.

Article XL On the restoration of deposits

Article XLI Passports

Article XLII Evacuation of the provinces given the Prussia

Letters patent of May 15, 1915

Par lettres patentes du 15, mai, le region de Chelmno (Culm), celle de Michalow, ainsi que la ville de Torun (Thorn) avec son territoire étaient détachés du Grand Duche. Les districts de Kamin et de Koronowo..... ne furent pas jamais joints à la Posnanie, en dépit des instances réiterées des Polonais. Le Roi avait assure que dans l'application des traités, seraient respectées les moeurs nationales, que la langue polonaise serait employée dans les actes officiels et dans les tribunaux, qu'il serait tout particulièrement tenu compte des fonctionnaires nationaux dans le reparation des emplois (V.protocall du 7 decembre 1817). Les présidents des tribunaux devaient être nécessairement choisis parmi les Polonais; le Grand Duché serait doté des trois instances judiciaires. Le Prince Radziwill devint lieutenat-gouverneur (Statthalter), avec fonctions représentatives, et comme président supérieux fut nommé un propriétaire foncier du pays, l'Allemand, Zerboni di Sposetti. À la tête des districts on placa des 'Landrats' élus. Le serment prescrit aux habitants du Grand Duché designe cette partie de la Pologne comme leur patrie.

> 'Je reconnais S.M. le Roi de Prusse pour souverain unique et légitime de la pays, et cette partie de la Pologne, qui à echu au Roi de Prusse en vertu de Congres du Vienne, pour ma patrie, en m'engageant de la défendre, au prix de mon sang, contre toute force oppressive, contre chacun et en quelques circonstances que ce soit.'

Le Grand Duché était mis en possession de ses propre insignes et de son propre blason; l'aigle noir avec, en abime, l'aigle blanc sur champ de gueules. (from Lutosanski, I, 419-421).

Lettre datée du May 19, 1919

Par lettres patentes du 19, mai, le region de Chełmno (Culm), celle de Mlawa, ainsi que la ville de Torun (Thorn) avec son territoire étaient détachés du Grand Duché. Les districts de Kadin et de Koronowo..... ne furent pas joints à la Pologne, en dépit des instances réitérées des Polonais. Il est avéré que dans l'application des traités, certains responsables les moyens matériels, que la langue polonaise serait employée dans les autres officiels et dans les tribunaux, qu'il serait tout particulièrement tenu compte des fonctionnaires nationaux dans le recrutement des employés (V. protocoll du 7 décembre 1917). Les présidents des tribunaux devaient être nécessairement choisis parmi les Polonais; le Grand Duché serait doté des trois instances judiciaires. Le Prince Radziwill devint lieutenant-gouverneur (Statthalter), avec fonctions représentatives, et comme président suprême fut nommé un propriétaire foncier du pays, l'allemand, Zerboni di Sposetti. A la tête des différents ministères on plaça des 'Landrats' élus. Le drapeau présidait aux Radziwills du Grand Duché dessine cette partie de la Pologne comme leur patrie.

'Le recommandé S.M. le Roi de France pour souverain unique et légitime de la Pologne, et cette partie de la Pologne, qui à même au Roi de France en vertu de Congrès de Vienne, pour ma patrie, en m'engageant de la défendre, au prix de mon sang, contre toute force oppressive, contre canons et en quelques circonstances que ce soit.'

Le Grand Duché était mis en possession de ses propres insignes et de son propre blason; l'aigle noir avec, en sables, l'aigle blanc sur champ de gueules. (Free Interessenti, I. sin-sti).

Frederick William III at Posen May 15, 1815

Habitants du Grand Duché de Posnanie:

En rétablissement, par ma patente de prise de possession datée aujourd'hui, les anciens rapports de cette partie des districts du Duché de Varsovie qui appartenaient originairement à la Prusse et qui sont de nouveau échus a Mes Etats, J'ai songé a fixer aussi votre sort; vous aussi vous avec reçu une partrie, et avec elle une preuve combien. Je sais apprécier votre attachment a la Patrie. Vous serez incorporé a Ma monarchie, sans avoir besoin de renoncer à votre existence nationale. Vous prendrez part a la constitution que J'ai l'intention de donner à Mes fidèles sujets, et vous recevrez, comme les autres provinces de Mon Royaume, une constitution provinciale.

Votre réligion sera maintenue, et des mesures veut etre prises pour qu'une dotation convenable soit assignée aux ministres de cette religion. Vos droits personnes et votre propriété retournent sous la protection des lois. Vous serez .....admis aux déliberations sur les lois.

Votre langue sera employie, conjointement avec la langue allemande, dans tous les actes publiques, et chacun d'entre vous, selon ses facultés, aura arces à tous les emplois, a tous les honneurs, et a toutes les dignitiés de Mon Royaume.

Mon Lieutenant qui est ne au milieu de vous, residera aussi au milieu de vous. Il ne fera connaître vos désir et vos besoins; il vous fera connaître les intentions de Mon gouvernement.

Frederick William III at Posen May 15, 1815

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En retablissement, par ma patente de prise de possession datee aujourd'hui, les anciens rapports de cette partie des districts du Duche de Varsovie qui appartenaient originairement a la Prusse et qui sont de nouveau echus a mes Etats, j'ai sauge a fixer aussi votre sort; vous aussi vous avez recu une partie, et avec elle une preuve ouvlen. Je sais apprecier votre attachement a la Patrie. Vous serez incorpores a ma monarchie, sans avoir besoin de renoncer a votre existence nationale. Vous prendrez part a la constitution que j'ai l'intention de donner a mes fidelles sujets, et vous recevrez, comme les autres provinces de mon Royaume, une constitution provinciale.

Votre religion sera maintenue, et des pasteurs vont etre prises pour qu'une dotation convenable soit assignee aux ministres de cette religion. Vos droits personnes et votre propriete resteront sous la protection des lois. Vous serez .....admis aux deliberations sur les lois.

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Mon Lieutenant qui est ne au milieu de vous, residera aussi au milieu de vous. Il ne fera connaitre vos desir et vos besoins; il vous fera connaitre les intentions de mon gouvernement.

Votre concitoyen, Mon premier président, organi sera le Grand Duché selon les instructions que Je lui ai données; il en administera toutes les branches jusqu'a ce que l'organization soit achevée. Il emploiera en cette occasion selon leurs commissaires et la confranie qu'ils inspirent, ceux de vos concitoyens qui se sont appliquée à la partie administration des affaires publiques. Immediatement apres l'organisation les diverses branches de l'administration seront mises en activité.

Je veux que le passe soit entièrement oublié. Toute Ma solicitude n'aura en vue que l'avenir. C'est dans les temps future que J'espere trouver les moyens de ramener encore une fois dans le chemin de la prosperité ce pays qui a fait tout d'efforts, au dela de ses forces, et qui se trouve dans en etat d'épuisement profond.

L'expérience vous a donne de forte lecons. J'espère pouvoir compter sur votre reconnaissance.

Votre concitoyen, Son Grandeur président, organi sera le Grand Duche selon les instructions que Je lui et connues: il en administre toutes les branches jusqu'a ce que l'organisation soit achevee. Il exploitera en cette occasion selon leurs connaissaires et la confiance qu'ils inspirent, ceux de vos concitoyens qui se sont appliquee a la partie administration des affaires publiques. Immediatement apres l'organisation les diverses branches de l'administration seront mises en activite.

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Ordinance of May 22, 1815 concerning a constitution for Prussia (from Seeley, Life and Times of Stein, II, 427)

We, Frederick William, by the Grace of God, etc.

By Our Ordinance of the 30th of March We have decreed for Our Monarchy a regular administration with regard to the former circumstances of the Provinces.

Although the history of the Prussian State shows that the happy condition of civil freedom and the stability of a just administration founded upon order was guaranteed as far as is possible in the imperfection and frailty of human institutions, by the qualities of the Sovereigns and their union with the nation, nevertheless that it may be more firmly established, that a pledge of our confidence may be given to the Prussian nation, and that the principles on which our ancestors and Ourself have conducted the government of Our realm with anxious care for the happiness of Our subjects may be faithfully handed down to posterity and durably preserved by means of a written document as the Constitution of the Prussian realm, We have ordained as follows:

Paragraph 1 A Representation of the People is to be established.

Paragraph 2 For this end the Provincial Estates are: (a) to be restored and aroused in accordance with the need of the time where they still exist with more or less efficiency; (b) to be organized where they do not exist.

Paragraph 3 Out of the Provincial Estates the assembly

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of the Representatives of the country is to be chosen, which shall hold its session at Berlin.

Paragraph 4 The action of the Representatives of the country shall extend to deliberation upon all subjects of legislation which concern the personal and proprietary rights of the citizens of the State, including taxation.

Paragraph 5 A Commission shall be appointed without loss of time to sit at Berlin, which shall be composed of intelligent public officials and residents of the Provinces.

Paragraph 6 This Commission shall occupy itself with (1) the organization of the Provincial Estates; (2) the organization of the Representatives of the country; (3) the elaboration of a written constitution according to the principles laid down.

Paragraph 7 It shall meet on September 1 of this year.

Paragraph 8 Our Chancellor of State is entrusted with the execution of this Ordinance, and shall speedily lay before Us the result of the labors of the Commission. He shall name the members of it and shall preside in it, but has permission in case of hindrance to appoint a substitute for himself.

Authentically under Our royal signature with the impression of Our royal seal attached. Done at Vienna, May 22d 1815

Frederick William

C. Prince von Hardenburg

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Dr. Moritz Busch on the Polish Question of 1815

The public respect and sympathy which the Poles had won under Kosciusko's leadership they deservedly lost by their servile attachment to Napoleon, under whose command they fought against nobler and more freedom-loving peoples than themselves. They were never more despicable than in 1814, when Tallyrand wrote: 'The Polish affair is merely a question of partition and frontier definition to be settled amongst themselves by the States interested in it, and possessing no importance from France or Europe'. Lord Castelreagh also wrote that he 'did not see why Prussia should not be indemnified at the cost of an enemy who, according to the principles of international law, had lost the totality of its political rights'." The Russian Minister Pozzo di Borgo questioned: 'If the Poles are so fit for a free constitution, why did they not assert themselves as a nation towards Bonaparte? Why were they content to remain a French military department? Why did they raise no objections to attacking and slaughtering the Spaniards? Why did they feast and carouse when ordered to march upon the Pyranees? The Poles do not want emancipation, but independence, after having sacked Madrid and burnt Moscow. They declaim dramas about their misfortunes; but their lot is no worse than that of every other people which has behaved itself as they have!' (Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 162-163.

Dr. Morris Busch on the Polish question of 1815

The public's respect and sympathy which the Poles had won under Kosciusko's leadership they deservedly lost by their servile attachment to Napoleon, under whose banners they fought against bolder and more freedom-loving peoples than themselves. They were never more despicable than in 1815, when Talleyrand wrote: 'The Polish affair is merely a question of partition and frontier definition to be settled amongst themselves by the States interested in it, and possessing no importance from France or Europe'. Lord Castlereagh also wrote that he did not see why Prussia should not be indemnified at the cost of an enemy who, according to the principles of international law, had lost the totality of its political rights'." The Russian Minister Pozzo di Borgo questioned: 'If the Poles are so fit for a free constitution, why did they not answer themselves as a nation towards Lunéville? Why were they content to remain a French military department? Why did they raise no objections to attacking and slaughtering the Spaniards? Why did they lead and carouse when ordered to march upon the Pyrenees? The Poles do not want emancipation, but independence, after having reached Madrid and burnt Moscow. They decline dreams about their misfortunes; but their lot is no worse than that of every other people which has behaved itself as they have!' (Busch, Our Chancellor, II, 182-183.

Commercial Treaty between Russia and Prussia December 19, 1818
(From Lutosanski, I, #248, 439-442)

Article I Extension of commercial rights to all Polish territory between the Duna, Dnieper, Dniester, and Oder rivers, the Sea and East Prussia.

Article II To assure liberty of navigation and commerce as provided for in the treaty of Vienna the Powers covenanted to observe the following rules and principles:

1. Navigation in the bays as well as on the canals and rivers including the descent to the mouths at the sea and back, and visitation at the ports on the way will be free, in that they cannot be gainsaid to the subjects of the contracting Parties.

2. The right to stop and land is common to all subjects.

3. Police regulations and those pertaining to floating timber are obligatory on all.

4. The respective subjects will not have to submit to any imposts or charges but those which are necessary for the upkeep of the waterways.

5. The tariffs and duties agreed upon to-day will not be raised except by the common consent of the two governments.

6. Navigation on the Vistula is free except that which is known in Prussia as Schiffs-Gefaess-Geldes.

Article III The Powers desire to provide in the former Polish provinces the most unlimited freedom of commerce

1. Those who attend the fairs to sell their merchandise are assured the right to travel freely by land and water if they deliver to the competent authority a passport or permit

stating the nature of their business and residence.

2. The right to buy and sell the products of the soil and of the industry of his country in all the villages and ports of the territory described in Article I without paying a tax for the privilege. The time limit for such transactions is six months and if the subject desires and extension of time he must obtain a permit.

3. The right of deposit is granted.

4. Special privileges will be granted during fair time.

5. If a subject leaves one State for residence in another he must first obtain permission and pay all the tolls required.

6. Jews are not granted this privilege but will be treated as are the Jews in each of the territories of the Powers.

Article IV Tobacco and salt in Russia and salt in Prussia are exempted from further taxation

Article V Prussian monopolies on linen, wool and copper are also exempted from additional taxes, but any changes in the future will be by mutual consent.

Each government will permit the settlement of a certain number of the other's subjects in the commercial cities.

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Each Government will permit the settlement of a certain number of the other's subjects in the commercial cities.

Bismark on Civil Marriage, in the Prussian Landtag, November 15, 1849

I do not believe it is the Legislature's duty to ignore that which the people holds sacred. On the contrary, I believe it to be the mission of the Legislature as the people's teacher and guide, to act in such sort that popular existence, in its every circumstance, shall lean upon the staff of Faith - not to arbitrarily cast away that staff, wherever it may be to hand, as an useless appendage, thus undermining reverence for the church and for religious institutions wherever that reverence may have struck deeply in the life of the people; and this during an epoch which has taught us in letters of blood that wheresoever the free thinkers have succeeded in imparting to the masses their indifference to any and every positive profession of faith, nothing has been left to the people of their Christianity but such insipid dregs as consist in an ambiguous moral philosophy.....

Bismark on the same subject January 17, 1873

'.....not readily but most unwillingly and after a severe mental struggle', he determined to advise such a measure to the King. 'I am not here to propound dogmas, but to transact politics. From the political point of view I have convinced myself that the State - in the situation to which it has been brought by the revolutionary conduct of the Catholic Bishops - is constrained by the dictates of self-defense to enact this law, in order to avert from a portion of His Majesty's subjects the evils with which they are menaced by the Bishops' rebellion against the laws and the State; in a word, that the State is forced to do its duty as fast as in it lies.'

Bismark on the May Laws of 1873 in his Reminiscences and Relections

I should never have thought of occupying myself with the legal details of the May Laws; they were outside my department, and I had neither the intention nor the qualifications to control or correct Falk as a jurist I could not, as Minister-President, fulfil the duties of the Minister of Public Worship at the same time, even if I had been in perfect health. It was only by seeing them in practice that I became convinced that the legal details had not been properly conceived for the effect they were wanted to produce. The error in their conception was made evident to me by the picture of dextrous, light-footed priests pursued through backdoors and bedrooms by honest but awkward Prussian gendarmes, with spurs and trailing sabres. Whoever supposes that such critical considerations surging up in me would immediately have been embodied in the form of a cabinet crisis between Falk and myself has not the correct judgment, which can only be gained by experience, of the manner in which the State machine has been driven, both as regards itself and its connexion with the monarch and the parliamentary elections. That machine is unable to perform sudden evolutions and ministers of Falk's talents do not grow wild with us. It was better to have a fellow combatant of such ability and courage in the ministry than to make myself responsible for the administration of the Department of Public Worship, or for a new appointment to it, by encroaching upon the constitu-

Eisenart on the May laws of 1872 in his Beziehungen und Beziehungen

I should never have thought of occupying myself with the legal details of the May Laws; they were outside my department, and I had neither the intention nor the qualifications to control or correct Falk as a jurist I could not, as Minister-Pres-ident, fulfill the duties of the Minister of Public Worship at the same time, even if I had been in perfect health. It was only by seeing them in practice that I became convinced that the legal details had not been properly conceived for the effect they were wanted to produce. The error in their conception was made evident to me by the picture of certain, light-footed priests pursued through backdoors and bedrooms by honest but awkward Prussian gendarmes with spurs and trailing sabres. Moreover suppose that such critical considerations arising up in me could immediately have been embodied in the form of a cabinet crisis between Falk and myself has not the correct judgment, which can only be gained by experience, of the manner in which the State machine has been driven, both as regards itself and its connexion with the monarch and the parliamentary majorities. That machine is unable to perform sudden evolutions and ministers of Falk's talents do not grow wild with us. It was better to have a fellow combatant of such ability and courage in the ministry than to make myself responsible for the administration of the Department of Public Worship, or for a new appointment to it, by encroaching upon the constitu-

tional independence of his office..... Only when contrary to my wishes, he had been so put out by feminine Court influence and ungracious letters from the royal hand that it became impossible to keep him, did I proceed to a revision of what he had left behind..... All the accounts which state that I ousted him from the ministry rest upon invention; and I was surprised that he never publicly contradicted them....

Constitution of 1850

(From the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Volume 5 July 1894-June 1895)

Article 4 All Prussians are equal before the law and class privileges are not permitted. "Public offices, subject to the conditions imposed by law, shall be uniformly open to all who are competent to hold them."

Article 5 Personal freedom is guaranteed except as arrests may be made according to law.

Article 6 "The domicile shall be inviolable. Intrusion and search therein as well as the seizing of letters and papers, shall be allowed only in the manner and in the cases prescribed by law"

Article 7 "Exceptional tribunals and extrordinary commissions shall not be permitted"

Article 8 Punishments are to be inflicted only according to law.

Article 9 Property is inviolable, and may be taken or interfered with only from considerations of public weal, and then only in a manner prescribed by law and to be paid for in all cases.

Article 10 Civil death or exclusion from the right of civil record of marriages, etc. and confiscation of property as a punishment is not permitted (Confiscations for high treason or neglect of duty of military service is permissible)

Article 11 Freedom of emigration is permitted but not to escape military service. No migration fees will be imposed

Article 12 "Freedom of religious confession, of association in religious societies (Articles 30 and 31) and of the common

exercise of religions in private and public, is guaranteed. The enjoyment of civil and political rights shall not be dependent upon religious belief. But the exercise of religious liberty shall not be permitted to interfere with the civil or political duties of the citizen."

Article 13 "Religious and ecclesiastical associations which have no corporate rights can only acquire those rights by special laws."

Article 14 "The Christian religion taken as the basis of state institutions which are connected with the exercise of religions without prejudice to religious liberty is guaranteed by Article 12"

Articles 15, 16, 18 repealed June 18, 1875 granted the Church and religious associations institutional autonomy. "Moreover, intercourse between religious societies and their superiors was to be unobstructed, and the publication of Church ordinances subjected only to such restrictions as were imposed upon other publications. The abrogation of these articles was the outcome of the long conflict between the Church and State....."

Article 19 Civil marriage was to be provided for by special laws (passed 1874 and suspended by the Federal law of February 6, 1875)

("Articles 20-26 are regarded by the best authorities as practically suspended by Article 112 which provides that educational matters shall continue to be regulated by the existing Prussian laws until the general legislation for-

exercise of religious in private and public is guaranteed. The enjoyment of civil and political rights shall not be dependent upon religious belief. But the exercise of religious liberty shall not be permitted to interfere with the civil or political duties of the citizen."

Article 13 "Religious and nonsectarian associations which have no corporate rights can only acquire those rights by special law."

Article 14 "The Christian religion taken as the basis of state institutions which are connected with the exercise of religions without prejudice to religious liberty is guaranteed by Article 12"

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Article 19 Civil marriage was to be provided for by special laws (passed 1874 and amended by the Federal law of February 6, 1903)

("Articles 20-22 are regarded by the best authorities as practically superseded by Article 112 which provides that educational matters shall continue to be regulated by the existing Prussian laws until the general legislation for-

seen by Article 26 be carried out. No such general law has been passed.") (By decree of the German Diet September 20, 1819 a special inspector for each university was appointed 'to observe the spirit in which university professors lectured' and to 'exercise a salutary influence upon instruction with a view to determining the future attitude of the youthful student')

Article 20 Science and its teachings is to be unhampered.

Article 21 Education is to be provided for in public schools.

Article 22 Any one may teach if he can satisfy the State as to his moral, scientific, and technical fitness.

Article 23 Public and private educational institutions are to be supervised by the State. The teachers possess the rights and duties of public officials.

Article 24 "Confessional differences are to be considered in so far as it is possible.

"Religious instruction is to be superintended by the religious organization concerned.

"The charge of the external affairs of the elementary schools shall belong to the community (Gemeinde). With the statutory cooperation of the community in the manner and to the extent determined by law, the State shall appoint the teachers in the public elementary schools from the number of those qualified."

Article 27 "Every Prussian shall be entitled to express his opinion freely by word, writing, print, or pictorial representation.

ance by Article 24 be carried out. No requirement has ever been passed." (By decree of the Danish Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1919 a special inspector for each university was appointed for observing the spirit in which university professors "ought" with no intention a salutary influence upon instruction with a view to determining the future attitude of the youthful students.)

Article 20 Science and its teachings is to be unhampered.

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Article 24 "Confessional differences are to be considered in so far as it is possible.

"Religious instruction is to be superintended by the religious organization concerned.

"The charge of the external affairs of the elementary schools shall belong to the community (Commune). With the statutory cooperation of the community in the commune and to the extent determined by law, the State shall appoint the teachers in the public elementary schools from the number of those qualified."

Article 27 "Every Danish shall be entitled to express his opinion freely by word, writing, print, or pictorial representation."

"Censorship of the press may not be introduced; and no other restriction on the freedom of the press shall be imposed except by law. (Legislation in regard to the press is by the Imperial constitution vested in the Federal Government which on May 7, 1874 issued a presslaw)"

Article 28. "Offenses committed by word, writing, print or pictorial representation shall be punished in accordance with the general penal code. (Suspended by Federal law of May 7, 1874)"

Article 29. "All Prussians shall be entitled to meet in closed rooms, peacefully and unarmed without previous permission from the authorities.

"But this provision does not apply to open air meetings which shall be subject to whatever restrictions the law may prescribe even with respect to previous permission from the authorities."

Article 30. "All Prussians shall have the right form associations for such purposes as do not contravene the penal laws.

"This law shall regulate with special regard to insuring the public security, the exercise of the rights guaranteed by this law and the preceding Article (29).

"Political associations may be subjected by law (not ordinance) to restrictions and temporary prohibitions." (Articles 27, 29, and 30.....are all modified by the Federal law of September 21, 1878 which prohibits all publications, meetings and associations 'in which social democratic or communistic efforts toward the destruction of the existing political and social order are apparent')

Article 32 Right of petition is guaranteed.

Article 33 The privacy of the mails is inviolable. "The necessary restrictions of this right, in cases of war and of criminal investigation shall be determined by law (regulated by Federal Laws of 1895)"

Article 34 Military service is required of all.

Articles 40,41,43 Forbid the creation of family entails (permitted 1852); feudal tenures, feudal bonds, except those of the Crown fiefs, and abolished feudal judicial jurisdiction and feudal obligations.

Article 45 The King retained the power to appoint and dismiss the ministers and he was not bound by the wishes of the majority. (No law was passed making the ministers responsible to the parliament)

Article 51 The King convoked the assemblies and could dissolve them both or only one. New elections of electors were to be held within sixty days and elections for the Chamber within ninety days after dismissal. (July 5, 1853 The Upper or Herrenhaus was not longer elective. Only the Lower house could be dissolved, but the Upper Chamber in that case had to be prorogued according to Article 77)

Article 52 The Chambers could be adjourned but not for more than thirty days without their consent. Such adjournment could not be repeated a second time during the same session.

Article 60 Ministers and State officials appointed to represent them had access to each House and had to be heard when requested it.

Both Houses could demand the presence of the Ministers

Article 33. The privacy of the mails is inviolable. "The necessary restrictions of this right, in cases of war and of criminal investigation shall be determined by law (regulated by Federal Laws of 1923)."

Article 34. Military service is required of all.

Articles 40,41,43. Forbid the creation of fiscal monopolies (Federal 1922); Fundal reserves, Fundal bonds, except those of the Crown Estate, and abolished Fundal Judicial Jurisdiction and Fundal obligations.

Article 44. The King retained the power to appoint and dismiss the ministers and he was not bound by the wishes of the majority. (No law was passed making the ministers responsible to the parliament)

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Both Houses could demand the presence of the Ministers

but they were not required to give out the information requested, according to Article 81.

Article 61 Impeachment of officials or ministers for violating the constitution, bribery, or treason. The Supreme court of the Kingdom rendered the decision.

Article 64 The King and both Houses had the power to introduce bills but if rejected by either House or the King could not be reintroduced during that session.

Article 70 Every Prussian, if qualified, could vote at the age of twenty-four (an Urwaehler or primary voter)

Article 72 There was one elector or Wahlmann for every 250 people. Primary voters divided into three classes.....

Articles 73-86 Contain the details of the representative system.

Articles 92-100 On Judiciary.

Articles 100-116 On Taxation.

William I to Bismark April 30, 1863

He enclosed the reports of Arnim on the situation and wrote:

The only question is of the arrest of Guttry and Dzialynski members of the Chamber. If Count Lippe thinks that this cannot be done without the sanction of the Second Chamber, come with him to me at once, or if you think it better let the Council meet here at one o'clock so that the motion to institute the arrest of the two members may be brought before the Second Chamber immediately, if possible, to-day, by an extraordinary convocation of the House. Haste is necessary; and secrecy, so that the House may be surprised. If it does not permit the arrest, it participates in the high treason.

Bismark in the Reichstag January 24, 1882 on the Insurrection of 1863 ..... if the King had not been in a position to carry out his own policy but had been compelled to follow the parliamentary, ministerial, legendary policy.. in the year 1863, and under the guidance of Deputy Behrend from Danzig, at that time Vice-president of the Lower House - we should have encouraged the Polish insurrection, and taken its part against Russia.....The Royal policy was to exhibit forbearance toward Russia.....; the Parliamentary policy was: 'Great Heavens, here is a row, a rising, an insurrection - a Government is being assailed - this aroused our sympathy!' and without further reflection the Prussian Parliament began to sing 'Jeszcze Polska'.

Deputy Carlowitz on the same subject:

If the Prussian Government acts precipitately, mixes itself up in foreign complications under unfavorable circumstances, and practices an aggressive policy, I feel confident that this House - or at least its great majority - in accordance with the country at large, will not grant the present Ministry a single taler wherewith to carry on such a policy.

Von Sybel labeled the Russian policy 'a colossal manhunt' and closed his oration with: 'If I could see sitting opposite me at the Ministerial table, one man who had hitherto proved himself possessed of farseeing penetration, or of a heart susceptible of justice, I would ask him whether this convention of his reminds him of the 1815 treaty, for the therein

Speech in the Parliamentary Debates of 1.12.06 on the Transvaal Constitution of 1906 ..... If the King had not been in a position to carry out his own policy but had been compelled to follow the parliamentary ministerial, responsible policy in the year 1906, and under the guidance of Party Servant from Ireland, at that time Vice-President of the Lower House, we should have encouraged the Polish insurrection, and taken its part against Russia ..... The Royal policy was to maintain Conference towards Russia ..... the Parliamentary policy was: 'Great Powers, here is a row, a scuffle, an insurrection - a Government is being assaulted - this causes an expenditure and without further reflection the Russian Parliament began to sing 'Rescue Poland'.

Party Conflicts on the same subject:

If the Prussian Government acts practically, when it-self up in foreign complications under unpopular circumstances, and practices an aggressive policy, I feel confident that this House - or at least its great majority - in accordance with the country at large, will not grant the present Ministry a single dollar wherewith to carry on such a policy.

Van Syl: Indeed the Russian policy is national sentiment and closed his position with: If I could see sitting opposite me at the ministerial table, one man who had lifted by proved himself possessed of increasing penetration, or of a heart susceptible of justice, I would ask him whether this conviction of his results his of the 1906 treaty, for the liberal

documented right of the Poles to exist under their own independent constitution; of the therein recorded decision of Prussia and Europe, viz., that the King of Poland, not the Czar of Russia, should reign at Warsaw? If our Ministry had itself taken this Polish matter in hand, with the honest resolve to finally extract the thorn from Europe's heel - at least to heal this old European wound - what a position it might have risen to in its own country! But unfortunately the heart of our Ministry seems to delight only in ideas of slavery and subjugation; thus its statesmanship and military capacity, as well as its constitutional being, collapse in order that police machinations may be glorified.'

Princess Catherine Radziwill describes the sensation caused by the Expulsion Law of 1885.

The measure, which excited an immense amount of indignation, was eagerly seized upon by Dr. Windhorst and his party, in order to bring about a motion of censure in the Reichstag against the Chancellor, and to challenge the legality of his conduct. Public opinion, of course, sided against the Minister, and the day upon which the motion was to be discussed was eagerly awaited. It was known that several members of the Bundesrat or Federal Council were strongly opposed to the application of the Imperial Ordinance with which the unpopular measure had been heralded. The debate which it was expected would follow upon the proposal of Dr. Windhorst.....was eagerly awaited, and on the day it was to take place, I do not believe there was even standing room in any of the galleries of the Reichstag. I arrived early, so as to get a good seat in the diplomatic box..... We were crammed, as many human beings as could possible get in, and among us was one of the members of the Federal Council, who, for some reason or other had elected not to occupy his usual place in the body of the House. He was rather loud in his denunciations of the Chancellor, and said to us that the Bundesrat was going also to make representations to the Emperor, if the debate that was about to take place would make the Government reconsider its position. A French diplomat.....turned to me, and in a low voice.....whispered in my ear 'He will be the first to applaud the Chancellor. Do not believe him!.....

Pitcoon Springs Relatively describes the resolution passed by the Legislature June of 1920.

The measure, which modified an Improve measure or legislation, was sharply replied upon by Mr. Windsorat and his party in order to bring about a motion of consure in the Legislature against the Commission, and to challenge the legality of his conduct. Public opinion, of course, sided against the Sinister, and the day upon which the motion was to be discussed was sharply contested. It was known that several members of the Lumberman or Industrial Council were strongly opposed to the application of the Imperial Dominion with which the unpopular measure had been bartered. The debate which it was expected would follow upon the proposal of Mr. Windsorat.....was anxiously awaited, and on the day it was to take place, I do not believe there was even standing room in any of the galleries of the Legislature. I arrived early, so as to get a good seat in the diplomatic box..... As soon opened, as many humans as could possible get in, and among the man one of the members of the Federal Council, who, for some reason or other had elected not to occupy his usual place in the body of the House. He was frequently look to his documentations of the resolution, and said to me that the Lumberman was going to make representations to the Governor, if the debate that was about to take place could make the Government reconsider the position. A Person of Lumbermen.....turned to me, and in a low voice.....whispered in my ear "He will be the first to support the Commission. Do not believe him!.....

"Just as the President declared ths sitting opened, and before even he had proceeded to reading the orders of the day, Prince Bismark, who had entered the House together with the other members of the Ministry, got up, and in a loud ringing voice declared that he was the bearer of an Imperial message to the Reichstag. An eager murmur was heard, and expressions of astonishment and curiosity.....could be caught here and there..... The excitement was so intense, that even the Socialist leader forgot for once the usual custom to go out of the House on such occasions and clustered round the ministerial bench..... I have never seen him look so imposing; it was terrible to behold that straight jaw and the determination which the whole figure of the man revealed as he slowly unfolded the paper he held in his hand, and read its contents. These were brief and to the effect that the Emperor having been apprised that it was the intention of the Reichstag to discuss his recent ordinances, considered that these were issued by him in his position as King of Prussia and that the Parliament of the Empire had no right whatever to challenge him. If the Prussian Landtag.....desired to bring about a debate on the point, it was at liberty to do so; but he could not allow the privileges of the monarchy to be encroached upon, and he would never permit the Reichstag of the Empire to discuss his action as an independent German sovereign.

"A dead silence was the reply to the message. It would be impossible to describe the consternation with which it was received. Prince Bismark folded the paper: 'I suppose the House will thank his Majesty for his gracious communication'

"Just as the President delivered his address, and before even he had proceeded to reading the message of the Prince Bismarck, who had entered the House together with the other members of the Ministry, got up, and in a loud ringing voice declared that he was the bearer of an Imperial message to the Reichstag. An eager silence was heard, and expressions of astonishment and curiosity.....could be caught here and there..... The excitement was so intense, that even the Socialist leader Singer for once the usual wishes to go out of the House on such occasions and circulated round the adjacent bench..... I have never seen this leader so disposed; it was ludicrous to behold that straight lex and the determination which his whole figure of the man revealed as he slowly unfolded the paper he held in his hand, and read the concepts. There were brief and to the effect that the Emperor having been apprised that it was the intention of the Reichstag to discuss his recent ordinance, considered that these were intended by him in his position as King of Prussia and that the Parliament of the Empire had no right whatever to modify them. If the Prussian landtag.....desired to bring about a debate on the point, it was at liberty to do so; but he could not allow the privileges of the monarchy to be encroached upon and he would never permit the Reichstag of the Empire to discuss his action as an independent German assembly.

"Indeed silence was the reply to the message. It would be impossible to describe the consternation with which it was received. Prince Bismark raised the report. It supposes the Diets will thank his Majesty for his conciliatory communication"

he said loudly, with an expression of triumph such as had rarely illuminated his face. Then without even looking at those he had so completely crushed, he turned on his heels and went out....As he reached the door, he suddenly looked round, and seeing the members of the Bundesrat sitting glued with surprise to their chairs, beckoned to them..... The Bundesrat got up at once, as if pushed from behind by some one, and meekly, with bowed heads, followed the Chancellor.....I looked around. The man who has so loudly boasted.....was gone."

Bismark in the Landtag on its acceptance of the measures against the Poles 1885, 1886.

We have found that all our efforts to reconcile the Polish nobility to Germany are barren, and that we must extend our system and diminish the Polish, so as to augment the German population. We have enough Poles who are Prussian subjects; we must get rid of those who are foreigners. It is a political measure which we intend to carry out energetically, and no amount of votes in the Imperial Parliament will alter our resolution!

be said loudly, with an expression of terror such as had rarely illuminated his face. Then without even looking at them he had so completely crushed, he turned on his heels and went out.....As he reached the door, he suddenly looked round, and at the members of the Tuesday-night sitting glared with surprise in their chairs, turned to them..... The Bundesrat got up at once, as if pushed from behind by arms rude and heavy, with bowed heads, followed the Chancellor.....I looked around. The man who has so loudly invented.....are gone.

Element in the Reading on its acceptance of the an terms against the Paley 1000, Army.

We have tried that all our efforts to repopulate the British mobility to Germany are barren, and that we must extend our spaces and distribute the foliage, so as to augment the German population. We have enough Poles who are freedom subjects; we must get rid of those who are foreigners. It is a political measure which we intend to carry out unreservedly, and no amount of noise in the Imperial Parliament will alter our resolution!

Buelow on the Polish Question from conversations with Geheimrat Conrad, born in West Prussia, Staucey, Chief of Police In Posen for several years, Minister of Education, Dr. Studt, and Regiergungs-praesident von Tiedemann of Bromberg (Memoirs, I, 645-649)

"History proves that Germany's attempts to win the Poles by meeting them halfway have never been successful; they show on the contrary that these attempts have only harmed German interests. After Posen and West Prussia had been acquired, Frederick William III treated his Polish subjects with the greatest kindness. Far-reaching consideration was shown for their special characteristics; Polish agriculture was particularly promoted; Polish higher local officials could be elected and were elected; the Prussian Government was assisted by a Polish Statthalter. The result was the Insurrection of 1830. One advantage, at least, was derived from this Insurrection, namely that the leadership of new men in the Eastern provinces and the name of General von Grolman and Governor von Flottwell will always be honorably mentioned in German history. But they had only ten years in which to carry out German policies in the East. Frederick William IV, who was a romantic and appreciated the name of the State far less than his sober-minded father, really found 'the rascally State', as he called it, very unsympathetic. By way of penalty he transferred the excellent Governor von Flottwell from Posen to Magdeburg. Frederick William IV re-introduced the unsuccessful policies in vogue between 1815 and 1830; he undertook a so-called 'national reorganization' of Posen and West Prussia, which resulted

in a complete political fiasco, even before the events of 1848 gave the Polish agitators an opportunity to show their real aims and sentiments.

"A change and a turn for the better did not come until Bismark, on this, as well as in so many things, followed up the Great King's (Frederick the Great) traditions, through the Settler's Law of 1886, began the struggle for the land in these provinces on a big scale. This settlement scheme became the basis of the Prussian policy in the Eastern provinces, for it meant that Germans were established in those regions. After Bismark's dismissal, conditions again deteriorated. Count Caprivi had a marvelous chance when he began his term of office to promote German civilization in the Eastern provinces. The agricultural depression caused the price of estates to fall rapidly. It would have been simple at that time to change the policy..... That he met the Poles halfway in matters of school and church was tolerable. I always believed that it was neither necessary nor politically wise to vex the Poles in this respect. But Caprivi went so far as to subsidise the Polish Land-Bank and so to assist the Polish estate owners from whom the Settlement Commission should really have bought up land. It has been claimed that Caprivi, who saw things from a purely military point of view and who was of a very stubborn nature, believed that a war with Russia was inevitable and that for this reason he thought it advisable to reestablish an independent Polish State. I think that this is an unjust claim. Caprivi harbored too great a sentiment for Prussia, he was too devoted to the State to have been ensnared by ideas of this kind. He probably looked upon the

Poles like a Frederickan General, who might have been quite willing to have the Croats and Slovenes organize their own regiments, but who would never have permitted those regiments to endanger the Prussian Monarchy. The thought of establishing an independent Polish State on our Eastern fromtier could have occurred only to a Bethmann-Hollweg, who had no understanding of the traditions handed down to us by our Great King and our greatest statesmen, and who, applauded by Hans Delbrueck, Riezler (Ruedorffer) and other fools and perhaps encouraged and influenced by Austria made this terrible mistake and put the axe to the roots of the Prussian State.

"I was convinced from the beginning that we must, above all, have a stable policy in the East. Nothing had harmed us more than our vacillations and the constant return to old mistakes. I was forced to admit on the other hand - as Count Posadowsky, who had been in the Province of Posen for a long time, once pointed out with a sad face during a meeting of the Prussian Cabinet - that the Eastern Marches were not only a problem as far as the Poles in Germany were concerned, but a problem that concerned as well the Germans living among the Poles, I realized that by reason of our good, and also of some of our less admirable qualities, we Germans did not have the desired resistance in any struggle between nationalities and what, in this struggle, there was often a danger that the Germans would lose their national characteristics if the Government did not support and help them. The fact that the national sentiment of the German is weak was one of the chief dangers involved in the question of the Eastern Marches.

"I was free from any sentimental feelings towards the Poles. I had not forgotten the attitude of the Polish intelligentsia in 1830 or 1848, nor have I forgotten the massacre of Thorn nor the first battle of Tannenberg, the worst defeat we had suffered for centuries. Nor had I forgotten how the Poles themselves treated the Ruthenes in Galicia..... I never doubted the fact that if the Poles ever succeeded in subjecting the Germans they would govern these unfortunates with the greatest harshness and outrageous arrogance.....I believed, above all, that no greater disaster could happen to us then the reestablishment of an independent Polish State. I was not converted to this opinion post factum after the experiment of Bethmann-Hollweg and his friends had proved such a terrible fiasco. From the day I became chancellor I was convinced of the danger to us of an independent Polish State and of the necessity of preserving and protecting German national sentiment in the Eastern Marches as consistently and energetically as possible."

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